THE

LIFE

OF THE LATE

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD:

OR, THE

MAN OF THE WORLD.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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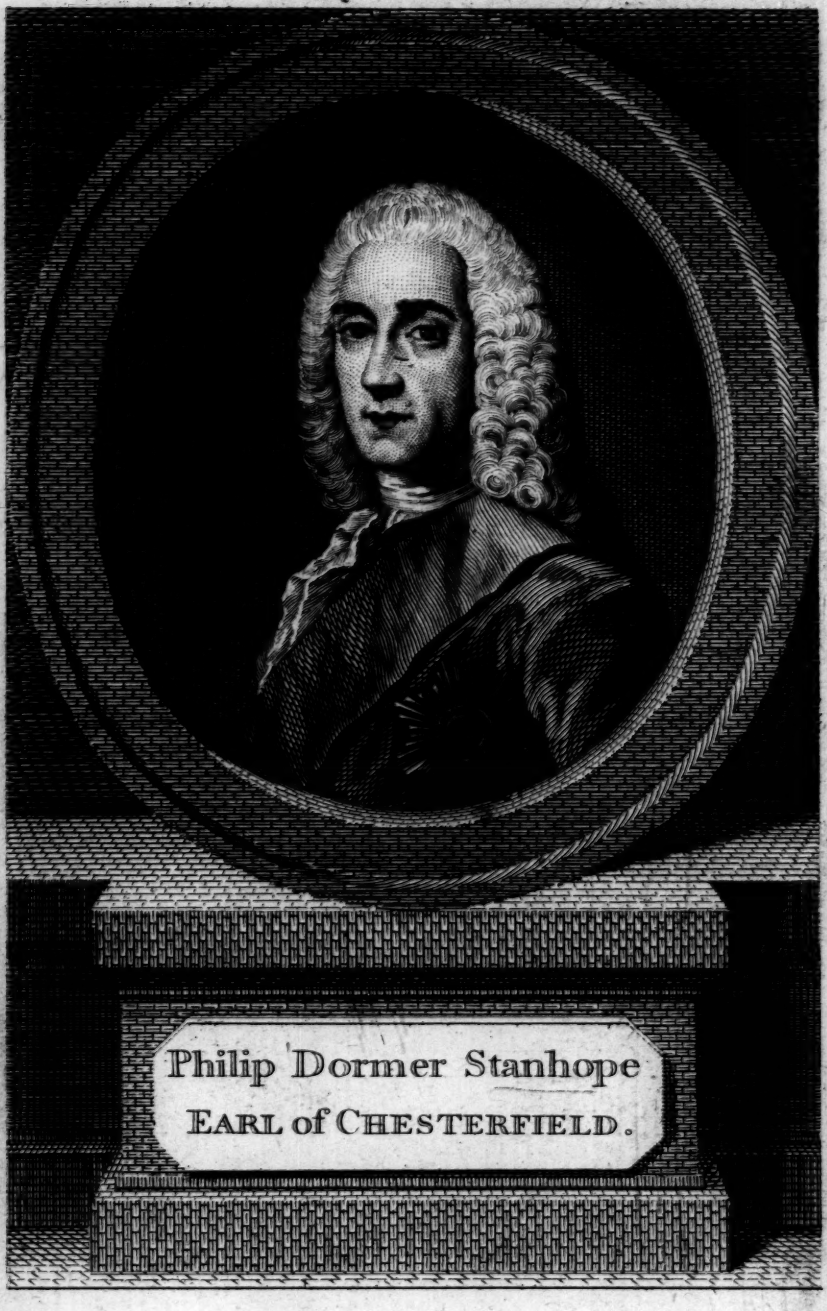

Philip Dormer Stanhope
EARL of CHESTERFIELD.

THE

LIFE

OF THE LATE

EARL of CHESTERFIELD:

OR, THE

MAN OF THE WORLD.

INCLUDING

His LORDSHIP's principal SPEECHES in PARLIAMENT; his moſt admired ESSAYS in the Paper called THE WORLD; his POEMS; and the Subſtance of the SYSTEM of EDUCATION

DELIVERED IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS TO HIS SON.

VOL. I.

LONDON,

Printed for J. BEW, in Paternoſter-Row.

MDCCLXXIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION.

THE influence of example is univerſally allowed to be ſuperior to that of precept: the Lives of eminent men, therefore, have in all ages been conſidered, as the moſt effectual means of inſtruction; and they are certainly the moſt pleaſing. It is to be lamented, however, that the men whoſe actions have been the moſt faithfully, and the moſt eloquently related, have often been the leaſt proper for imitation; or have been placed in circumſtances which

which ſeldom occur in the run of human affairs. Happily neither of theſe objections can lie againſt this performance. The virtues and talents of the earl of Cheſterfield were equally conſpicuous; his accompliſhments were unrivalled; and his ſituations were thoſe which are of moſt importance to the welfare of theſe kingdoms. A Britiſh ſenator; a foreign envoy; a ſecretary of ſtate; a lord lieutenant of Ireland; a private nobleman; a ſcholar; a man of taſte, and a man of faſhion, are characters which he filled with equal eaſe, propriety, and dignity. At once the man of genius, buſineſs, and elegance, he truly deſerved that epithet, of which he was ſo fond, and which he ſo often repeats

in

in his Letters to his Son, the *omnis homo*, or *all-accompliſhed* Cheſterfield.

Well therefore might the poet ſay,

" O thou, whoſe wiſdom, ſolid yet refin'd,
Whoſe patriot-virtues and conſummate ſkill
To touch the finer ſprings that move the world,
Join'd to whate'er the graces can beſtow,
And all Apollo's animating fire,
Give thee with pleaſing dignity to ſhine
At once the guardian, ornament, and joy
Of poliſh'd life ;—permit the rural Muſe,
O Cheſterfield ! to grace with thee her ſong ;
Ere to the ſhades again ſhe humbly flies,
Indulge her fond ambition in thy train,
(For every Muſe has in thy train a place)
To mark thy various full-accompliſh'd mind :
To mark that ſpirit, which, with Britiſh ſcorn,
Rejects th' allurements of corrupted power ;
That elegant politeneſs which excells
Even in the judgment of preſumptuous France,
The boaſted manners of her ſhining court ;
That wit, the vivid energy of ſenſe,
The truth of nature, which with Attic point,
And kind well-tempered ſatire, ſmoothly keen,
Steals through the ſoul, and without pain corrects.
Or, riſing thence, with yet a brighter flame,
O let me hail thee on ſome glorious day,
When to the liſtening ſenate ardent crowd

Britannia's ſons to hear her pleaded cauſe!
Then dreſs'd by thee, more amiably fair,
Truth the ſoft robe of mild perſuaſion wears:
Thou to aſſenting reaſon giveſt again
Her own enlighten'd thoughts; call'd from the heart,
Th' obedient paſſions on thy voice attend;
And e'en reluctant party feels a while
Thy gracious pow'r! as through the varied maze
Of Eloquence, now ſmooth, now quick, now ſtrong,
Profound and clear, you roll the copious flood."

THOMSON.

He was indeed, what he attempted to form his ſon, and what this work is intended to exemplify, in the Life and Writings of the father, the complete MAN of the WORLD.

THE

THE MAN of the WORLD;

OR, THE LIFE OF THE LATE Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

CHAP. I.

His Lordſhip's Birth, and his Progreſs in Letters and Politeneſs.

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, earl of Cheſterfield, was born on the twenty-ſecond day of September, in the year One thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five. His father, Philip the third earl of Cheſterfield, was deſcended by his mother from the family of Caernarvon; hence the name DORMER: and his own mother, lady Elizabeth Savil, was daughter and coheir to George marquis of Halifax.

Several other circumſtances conſpired to offer this young nobleman as fair a proſpect as any perſon of his rank and fortune could deſire; and he did not fail to improve them. His family had diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the cauſe of king Charles I. it had been inſtrumental in bringing about the Reſtoration; and his grandfather had enjoyed ſeveral poſts of honour under king Charles II. but he had happily renounced all connexion with the court a conſiderable time before the Revolution: the road to political eminence was therefore open.

The broad licentiouſneſs of the cavaliers, and the ſanctified rudeneſs of the puritans, had now both received ſome poliſh. Manners began to be underſtood. A good taſte in letters was beginning to dawn. Learning was the faſhion; and the chief nobility encouraged it, equally by example and patronage. It was not yet diſhonourable for a nobleman to be a ſcholar. Young Stanhope was ſoon an expert one; and, if we may believe himſelf, ſomewhat of a pedant.

"My firſt prejudice," ſays he, "was my claſſical enthuſiaſm, which I received from the books I read, and the maſters who explained them to me. I was convinced there had been no common ſenſe or

common honeſty in the world for theſe laſt fifteen hundred years; but that they were totally extinguiſhed with the ancient Greek and Roman governments. Homer and Virgil could have no faults, becauſe they were ancient; Milton and Taſſo could have no merit, becauſe they were modern. And I could almoſt have ſaid with regard to the ancients, what Cicero, very abſurdly and unbecomingly for a philoſopher, ſays with regard to Plato, *Cum quo errare malim quam cum aliis rectè ſentire.*"

This was the fault of his age. The ancients were then looked upon as the invariable ſtandards of fine writing and juſt thinking. Their very errors were idolized. But his lordſhip's mind was too liberal to be long fettered by ſuch a prejudice.

" Whereas I have now diſcovered," continues he, (alluding to what he had formerly ſaid) " that nature was the ſame three thouſand years ago, as it is at preſent; that men were but men then as well as now; that modes and cuſtoms vary often, but that human nature is always the ſame. And I can no more ſuppoſe, that men were better, braver, or wiſer, fifteen hundred or three thouſand years ago, than I can ſuppoſe that the animals and vegetables were better then, than they are now."

In another letter he is more particular on the ſubject of pedantry; its effects upon his manners; and how he got free from it.

"At nineteen," ſays he, "I left the univerſity of Cambridge, where I was an abſolute pedant: when I talked my beſt, I quoted Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common ſenſe; that the claſſics contained every thing that was either neceſſary, uſeful, or ornamental to men; and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, inſtead of the vulgar and illiberal dreſs of the moderns.

"With theſe excellent notions, I went firſt to the Hague, where, by the help of ſeveral letters of recommendation, I was ſoon introduced into all the beſt company; and where I very ſoon diſcovered, that I was totally miſtaken in almoſt every one notion I had entertained. Fortunately, I had a ſtrong deſire to pleaſe (the mixed reſult of good-nature, and a vanity by no means blameable) and was ſenſible, that I had nothing but the deſire. I therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to acquire the means too. I ſtudied attentively and minutely the

the dreſs, the air, the manner, the addreſs, and the turn of converſation of all thoſe whom I found to be the people in faſhion, and moſt generally allowed to pleaſe. I imitated them as well as I could: if I heard that one man was reckoned remarkably genteel, I carefully watched his dreſs, motions, and attitudes, and formed my own upon them. When I heard of another, whoſe converſation was agreeable and engaging, I liſtened and attended to the turn of it. I addreſſed myſelf, though *de très mauvaiſe grace*, to all the moſt faſhionable fine ladies; confeſſed, and laughed with them at my own awkwardneſs and rawneſs, recommending myſelf as an object for them to try their ſkill in forming.

"By theſe means, and with a paſſionate deſire of pleaſing every body, I came by degrees to pleaſe ſome; and, I can aſſure you, [his ſon] that what little figure I have made in the world, has been much more owing to that paſſionate deſire I had of pleaſing univerſally, than to any intrinſic merit, or ſound knowledge I might ever have been maſter of. My paſſion for pleaſing was ſo ſtrong (and I am very glad it was ſo) that I own to you fairly, I wiſhed to make every woman I ſaw, in love with me, and every man I met with, admire me. Without this paſ-

ſion for the object, I ſhould never have been ſo attentive to the means; and I own I cannot conceive how it is poſſible for any man of good-nature and good ſenſe to be without this paſſion. Does not good-nature incline us to pleaſe all thoſe we converſe with, of whatever rank or ſtaſtation they may be? And does not good ſenſe, and common obſervation, ſhow of what infinite uſe it is to pleaſe? 'Oh! but one may pleaſe by the good qualities of the heart, and the knowledge of the head, without that faſhionable air, addreſs, and manner, which is mere tinſel.' I deny it. A man may be eſteemed and reſpected, but I defy him to pleaſe without them."

In a third letter, he gives a ſtill more minute account of his literary aukwardneſs: and, what will hardly be credited by thoſe who have ſeen him only in his riper years, of his ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs; which he illuſtrates by an entertaining anecdote.

After having told his ſon, that though good ſenſe can only give him the outlines of good breeding, obſervation and uſage muſt give him the delicate touches, and the fine colouring, he proceeds thus: —"I remember," ſays he, in his eaſy familiar way, "that when, with all the awkwardneſs and ruſt of Cambridge about me,

me, I was firſt introduced into good company, I was frightened out of my wits. I was determined to be, what I thought, civil; I made fine low bows, and placed myſelf below every body; but when I was ſpoken to, or attempted to ſpeak myſelf, *obſtupui, ſteteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæſit.* If I ſaw people whiſper, I was ſure it was at me; and I thought myſelf the ſole object, of either the ridicule or the cenſure of the whole company: who, God knows, did not trouble their heads about me.

" In this way I ſuffered, for ſome time, like a criminal at the bar; and ſhould certainly have renounced all polite company for ever, if I had not been ſo convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of forming my manners upon thoſe of the beſt companies, that I determined to perſevere, and ſuffer any thing, or every thing, rather than not compaſs that point. Inſenſibly it grew eaſier to me; and I began not to bow ſo ridiculouſly low, and to anſwer queſtions without great heſitation or ſtammering: if, now and then, ſome charitable people, ſeeing my embarraſſment, and being *deſœuvré* themſelves, came and ſpoke to me, I conſidered them as angels ſent to comfort me; and that gave me a little courage.

" I got more ſoon afterwards, and was intrepid enough to go up to a fine woman, and tell her that I thought it a warm day; ſhe anſwered me, very civilly, that ſhe thought ſo too; upon which the converſation ceaſed, on my part, for ſome time, till ſhe, good-naturedly reſuming it, ſpoke to me thus: 'I ſee your embarraſſment, and I am ſure that the few words you ſaid to me, coſt you a great deal; but do not be diſcouraged for that reaſon, and avoid good company. We ſee that you deſire to pleaſe, and that is the main point; you want only the manner, and you think that you want it ſtill more than you do. You muſt go through your noviciate before you can profeſs good-breeding; and if you will be my Novice, I will preſent you to my acquaintance as ſuch.'

" You will eaſily imagine how much this ſpeech pleaſed me, and how awkwardly I anſwered it; I hemm'd once or twice (for it gave me a bur in my throat) before I could tell her, that I was very much obliged to her; that it was true, that I had a great deal of reaſon to diſtruſt my own behaviour, not being uſed to fine company; and that I ſhould be proud of being her Novice, and receiving her inſtructions. As ſoon as I had fumbled out this

this anſwer, ſhe called up three or four people to her, and ſaid, *Sçavez vous*, &c. (for ſhe was a foreigner, and I was abroad) 'Do you know that I have undertaken this young man, and he muſt be encouraged?—You will aſſiſt me in poliſhing him.—As for me, I believe I have made a conqueſt of him; for he juſt now ventured to tell me, though tremblingly, that it is warm. He muſt neceſſarily have a paſſion for ſomebody; and if he does not think me worthy of it, we will find him another. But happen what may, my Novice, do not diſgrace yourſelf by frequenting opera girls and actreſſes; who will ſpare you the expence of ſentiment and politeneſs, but will coſt you more in every other reſpect. I repeat it, my friend, if you herd with ſuch creatures, you will be undone. They will deſtroy both your fortune and your health, corrupt your manners, and prevent you from ever acquiring the ſtile of good company.'

"The company laughed at this lecture, and I was ſtunned with it. I did not know whether ſhe was ſerious or in jeſt. By turns I was pleaſed, aſhamed, encouraged, and dejected. But when I found, afterwards, that both ſhe, and thoſe to whom ſhe had preſented me, countenanced and protected me in company, I gradually got

more aſſurance, and began not to be aſhamed of endeavouring to be civil. I copied the beſt maſters, at firſt ſervilely, afterwards more freely, and at laſt, I joined habit and invention."

This deſire of pleaſing, mingled with a certain ſhare of vanity, to which he profeſſes himſelf a friend, ſoon procured him, as he himſelf informs us, a conſiderable eminence in the polite world. His own words only can do juſtice to his ſentiments.

" Vanity, or to call it by a gentler name, the deſire of admiration and applauſe, is, perhaps," ſays he, " the moſt univerſal principle of human actions; I do not ſay that it is the beſt; and I will own, that it is ſometimes the cauſe of both fooliſh and criminal effects. But it is ſo much oftener the principle of right things, that, though they ought to have a better, yet, conſidering human nature, that principle is to be encouraged and cheriſhed, in conſideration of its effects. Where that deſire is wanting, we are apt to be indifferent, liſtleſs, indolent, and inert; we do not exert our powers; and we appear to be as much below ourſelves, as the vaineſt man living can deſire to appear above what he really is.

" As

" As I have made you my (his ſon) confeſſor, and do not ſcruple to confeſs even my weakneſſes to you, I will fairly own, that I had that vanity, that weakneſs, if it be one, to a prodigious degree; and, what is more, I confeſs it without repentance; nay, I am glad I had it; ſince, if I have had the good fortune to pleaſe in the world, it is to that powerful and active principle that I owe it.

" I began the world, not with a bare deſire, but with an inſatiable thirſt, a rage of popularity, applauſe, and admiration. If this made me do ſome ſilly things, on one hand, it made me, on the other hand, do almoſt all the right things that I did: it made me attentive and civil to the women I diſliked, and to the men I deſpiſed, in hopes of the applauſe of both; though I neither deſired, nor would I have accepted the favours of the one, nor the friendſhip of the other.

" I always dreſſed, looked, and talked my beſt; and, I own, was overjoyed whenever I perceived that by all three, or by any one of them, the company was pleaſed with me. To men, I talked whatever I thought would give them the beſt opinion of my parts and learning; and, to women, what I was ſure would pleaſe them; flattery, gallantry, and

love. And moreover I will own to you, under the ſecrecy of confeſſion, that my vanity has very often made me take great pains to make many a woman in love with me, if I could, for whoſe perſon I would not have given a pinch of ſnuff.

" In company with men, I always endeavoured to out-ſhine, or, at leaſt, if poſſible, to equal the moſt ſhining man in it. This deſire elicited whatever powers I had to gratify it; and where I could not perhaps ſhine in the firſt, enabled me, at leaſt, to ſhine in a ſecond or third ſphere. By theſe means I ſoon grew in faſhion; and when a man is once in faſhion, all he does is right.

" It was infinite pleaſure to me, to find my own faſhion and popularity. I was ſent for to all parties of pleaſure, both of men and women; where, in ſome meaſure, I gave the ton. This gave me the reputation of having had ſome women of condition; and that reputation, whether true or falſe, really got me others. With the men I was a Proteus, and aſſumed every ſhape, in order to pleaſe them all: among the gay, I was the gayeſt, among the grave, the graveſt; and I never omitted the leaſt attentions of good-breeding, or the leaſt offices of friendſhip, that could either pleaſe,

pleaſe, or attach them to me;—and, accordingly, I was ſoon connected with all the men of any faſhion or figure in town."

CHAP. II.

His Loraſhip's Riſe in Parliament. He is made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber—Succeeds to the Peerage—Is made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard—Is ſworn of the Privy Council—Is ſent Ambaſſador to the Hague—Is choſen a Knight of the Garter—Is appointed Lord Steward of the Houſhold—And reſigns.

THUS accompliſhed, as a gentleman and a ſcholar, his lordſhip's next ambition was, to figure as a ſtateſman and an orator; and he ſucceeded in both. The ſame attention to pleaſing, which diſtinguiſhed him in the polite world, made him eminent in the political. A deſire of ſhining made him ſhine.

He was elected a member for the borough of St. Germain, in the firſt parliament of George I. and, he tells us himſelf, that he ſpoke in parliament the firſt month he was in it, and a month before

before he was of age. The ſpeech, he obſerves, was but indifferent, as to the *matter*, but paſſed tolerably, in favour of the *ſpirit* with which he *uttered* it, and the *words* in which it was *dreſſed*.

There his lordſhip's fort lay: language and addreſs were always at his command; and experience proves that he was not wrong in laying ſo much ſtreſs on them. His ſentiments never changed on this ſubject.

"Think," ſays he to his ſon, "night and day, of the turn, the purity, the correctneſs, the perſpicuity, and the elegancy, of whatever you ſpeak or write: take my word for it, your labour will not be in vain, but greatly rewarded by the harveſt of praiſe and ſucceſs which it will bring you. Delicacy of turn, and elegancy of ſtyle, are ornaments as neceſſary to common ſenſe, as attentions, addreſs, and faſhionable manners, are to common civility; both may ſubſiſt without them, but then, without being of the leaſt uſe to the owner. The figure of a man is exactly the ſame, in dirty rags, or in the fineſt and beſt-choſen clothes; but in which of the two he is the moſt likely to pleaſe, and to be received in good company, I leave to you to determine.

"The

"The Houſe of Commons," adds he, "is the theatre where you muſt make your fortune and figure in the world, you muſt reſolve to be an actor, and not a *perſona muta*, which is juſt equivalent to a candle-ſnuffer upon other theatres. Whoever does not ſhine there is obſcure, inſignificant, and contemptible; and you cannot conceive how eaſy it is, for a man of half your ſenſe and knowledge, to ſhine there if he pleaſes. The receipt to make a ſpeaker, and an applauded one too, is ſhort and eaſy. Take of common ſenſe *quantum ſufficit*, add a little application to the rules and orders of the houſe, throw obvious thoughts in a new light, and make up the whole with a large quantity of purity, correctneſs, and elegancy of ſtyle. Take it for granted, that by far the greateſt part of mankind do neither analyſe nor ſearch to the bottom; they are incapable of penetrating deeper than the ſurface. All have ſenſes to be gratified, very few have reaſon to be applied to. Graceful utterance and action pleaſes their eyes, elegant diction tickles their ears; but ſtrong reaſon would be thrown away upon them.

"I am not only perſuaded by theory, but convinced by my experience, that (ſuppoſing a certain degree of common

ſenſe)

ſenſe) what is called a good ſpeaker, is as much a mechanic, as a good ſhoemaker; and that the two trades are equally to be learned by the ſame degree of application. Therefore, for God's ſake, let this trade be the principal object of your thoughts; never loſe ſight of it. Attend minutely to your ſtyle, whatever language you ſpeak or write in; ſeek for the beſt words, and think of the beſt turns. Whenever you doubt of the propriety or elegancy of any word, ſearch the dictionary, or ſome good author for it, or inquire of ſomebody, who is maſter of that language; and in a little time, propriety and elegance of diction will become ſo habitual to you, that they will coſt you no more trouble.

"As I have laid this down to be mechanical, and attainable by whoever will take the neceſſary pains, there will be no great vanity in my ſaying, that I ſaw the importance of the object ſo early, and attended to it ſo young, that it would now coſt me more trouble to ſpeak or write ungrammatically, vulgarly, and inelegantly, than ever it did to avoid doing ſo. The late Lord Bolingbroke, without the leaſt trouble, talked all day long, full as elegantly as he wrote: Why? Not by a peculiar gift from heaven; but, as he

he has often told me himſelf, by an early and conſtant attention to his ſtyle. The preſent Solicitor-general, Murray, [now Lord Mansfield] has leſs law than many lawyers, but has more practice than any; merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing ſtream.

"I remember, ſo long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my chief ſtudy) whether ancient or modern, I uſed to write down the ſhining paſſages, and then tranſlate them, as well and as elegantly as ever I could; if Latin or French, into Engliſh; if Engliſh, into French. This, which I practiſed for ſome years, not only improved and formed my ſtyle, but imprinted in my mind and memory the beſt thoughts of the beſt authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage, I have experienced, was great. While you are abroad, you can neither have time nor opportunity to read pieces of Engliſh, or Parliamentary eloquence, as I hope you will carefully do when you return; but, in the mean time, whenever pieces of French eloquence come in your way, ſuch as the ſpeeches of perſons received into the Academy, *oraiſons funébres*, repreſentations of the ſeveral Parliaments to the King, *&c.* read them in

that

that view, in that ſpirit; obſerve the harmony, the turn and elegancy, of the ſtyle; examine in what you think it might have been better; and conſider in what, had you written it yourſelf, you might have done worſe. Compare the different manners of expreſſing the ſame thoughts, in different authors; and obſerve how differently the ſame things appear in different dreſſes. Vulgar, coarſe, and ill-choſen words, will deform and degrade the beſt thoughts, as much as rags and dirt will the beſt figure.

"I reſolved within myſelf," continues he, "that I would in all events be a ſpeaker in Parliament, and a good one too, if I could. I conſequently never loſt ſight of that object, and never neglected any of the means that I thought led to it. I ſucceeded to a certain degree; and, I aſſure you, with great eaſe, and without ſuperior talents."

The obſervations that follow are worthy of Rochefoucault.

"Young people are very apt to overrate both men and things, from not being enough acquainted with them. In proportion as you come to know them better, you will value them leſs. You will find that reaſon, which always ought to direct mankind, ſeldom does; but that

that paſſions and weakneſſes commonly uſurp its ſeat, and rule in its ſtead. You will find, that the ableſt have their weak ſides too, and are only comparatively able, with regard to the ſtill weaker herd: having fewer weakneſſes themſelves, they are able to avail themſelves of the innumerable ones of the generality of mankind: being more maſters of themſelves, they become more eaſily maſters of others. They addreſs themſelves to their weakneſſes, their ſenſes, their paſſions, never to their reaſon, and conſequently ſeldom fail of ſucceſs.

"To govern mankind, one muſt not over-rate them; and to pleaſe an audience, as a ſpeaker, one muſt not overvalue it.

"When I firſt came into the Houſe of Commons, I reſpected that aſſembly as a venerable one; and felt a certain awe upon me: but, upon better acquaintance, that awe ſoon vaniſhed; and I diſcovered, that, of the five hundred and ſixty, not above thirty could underſtand reaſon, and that all the reſt were *peuple*: that thoſe thirty only required plain common ſenſe, dreſſed up in good language; and that all the others only required flowing and harmonious periods, whether they conveyed any meaning or not;

not; having ears to hear, but not ſenſe enough to judge." His lordſhip has not ſurely here over-rated the Houſe of Commons.

"Theſe conſiderations," obſerves he, "made me ſpeak with little concern the firſt time, with leſs the ſecond, and with none at all the third. I gave myſelf no farther trouble about any thing, except my *elocution* and my *ſtyle*; preſuming, without much vanity, that I had common ſenſe ſufficient not to talk nonſenſe."

He was elected a member for Leſwithiel, in the parliament ſummoned in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one; which borough he continued to repreſent till he ſucceeded to the peerage, in January one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix. Before this time, he was captain of the yeomen of the guard, and one of the lords of the bedchamber to his late majeſty George II. then prince of Wales; and, when that prince aſcended the throne, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven, he was not only continued in his employments, but admitted into the privy council.

Soon after the acceſſion of George II. (ſome changes having taken place in the miniſtry) the earl of Cheſterfield was appointed

appointed ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General; and, on the twenty-third day of April, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight, he ſet out for the Hague, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ability and integrity of his conduct; by the elegance and politeneſs of his addreſs; by the gaiety and ſprightlineſs of his converſation; and by living with a ſtate and magnificence that did honour to his country.

His Lordſhip continued at the Hague till the beginning of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty; when, returning to England, he was choſen a knight of the garter, at a chapter of that moſt noble order held at St. James's, on the eighteenth of May, in the ſame year; and, on the eighteenth of June following, he was inſtalled at Windſor, along with the late duke of Cumberland and the earl of Burlington; the Sovereign and his royal highneſs the prince of Wales honouring the ſolemnity with their preſence. He was appointed Lord high Steward of his majeſty's houſhold the day after; and, in a ſhort time, he returned on his embaſſy to the Hague.

But public meaſures were now conducted ſo iniquitouſly at home, and ſo little

little encouragement was given to act with ſpirit abroad, that his lordſhip was aſhamed of being employed by ſuch a miniſtry: he therefore returned to England in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two; and, ſeeing no appearance of things growing better, he reſigned his place of Lord Steward of the Houſhold, in April one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-three, and renounced all connections with the court.

CHAP. III.

His Lordſhip's patriotic Conduct after his Reſignation, and his moſt remarkable Speeches from the Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Thirty-three, to the Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Forty-five.

THE earl of Cheſterfield's political character, and in a great meaſure his capacity, only now began to be known. He had hitherto ſupported the meaſures of the court, without perhaps ſufficiently conſidering how far they were equitable; but henceforth he acted the part of an intelligent, upright, and independent citizen of a free kingdom: ſwayed only by the

the dictates of his head, and the impulſe of his heart; he was always ready to eſpouſe good meaſures, and oppoſe bad ones, or what to him appeared ſuch, unſeduced by party, and unawed by power.

In ſupport of this character, it will be proper to take a view of his lordſhip's political conduct, which happily forms his moſt eloquent panegyric. Immediately after his reſignation, he diſplayed himſelf, as an orator and a patriot, in a ſpirited ſpeech againſt miſapplying the produce of the ſinking fund; and, as he ſaw the influence of the crown increaſing, he formally aſſociated himſelf with the oppoſition, making every poſſible attempt to ſtem the tide of corruption, and preſerve the liberties of the ſubject.

In February one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four, the duke of Marlborough preſented a bill to the Houſe of Lords, "for the better ſecuring the conſtitution, by preventing the officers of the army from being deprived of their commiſſions otherwiſe than by the judgment of a court martial, or by addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament."

This bill was occaſioned by ſeveral officers of character having been deprived of their commiſſions, without any better reaſon being aſſigned for ſo doing, than the

the will of the prince, or of his minion. After it had been read once, and a motion had been made for a ſecond reading, no lord ſtood up to ſpeak either for or againſt the bill; but ſome called for the queſtion: and, when the queſtion was juſt going to be put, the earl of Cheſterfield roſe, and ſaid, "My Lords, as there ſeems to be ſome of your lordſhips againſt the ſecond reading of this bill, I am ſurprized to hear the queſtion ſo much inſiſted on, before any lord who is againſt a ſecond reading has given a ſingle reaſon for his being ſo.

"If any motion is made, or bill preſented to this Houſe, were it an affair of no conſequence, yet it is a reſpect due to the noble lord who makes the motion, or preſents the bill, not to put a negative upon it without giving ſome reaſons for ſo doing; but, in the preſent caſe, it cannot be pretended that the bill preſented is not an affair of conſequence: it is, in my opinion, not only a good but a neceſſary bill; and the noble duke has given ſo ſtrong reaſons for paſſing it, that I hope your lordſhips will not ſo much as endeavour to put a negative upon it, without firſt giving ſome ſort of reaſon for what you are about to do."

Lord

Lord Hervey now roſe up and ſpoke againſt the bill. He was ſeconded by the duke of Newcaſtle, and a warm debate enſued. The earl of Cheſterfield ſpoke thus:

"It has been ſaid that this bill is a direct attack upon the prerogative, and that it is deſigned for deſtroying, or at leaſt diminiſhing, the power of the crown; but, my lords, if what is propoſed in this bill be duly conſidered, it will appear to be neither an attack upon the prerogative, nor ſo much as a diminution of the power of the crown. There is no power to be taken from the crown, but that power which the crown ought never to make uſe of. It is certain that the crown ought never to take an officer's commiſſion from him, but for ſome very ſufficient reaſon, and upon a full proof of the facts alledged againſt him: and therefore all that is propoſed by this bill, is only a method by which the crown may get ſuch an information, as to the facts alledged, as may be depended on; by which the crown may be ſecured againſt impoſitions, and the officers againſt private miſrepreſentations and falſe accuſations. It is meant, my lords, to prevent the king's being led into the doing a piece of the higheſt injuſtice to

a faithful ſoldier, and to prevent a good and brave officer from being whiſpered out of his commiſſion, and reduced to a ſtarving condition for no crime; perhaps for a piece of behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. Can this, my lords, be called an invaſion of the rights of the crown? Is it not plainly grounded upon that fundamental maxim of our conſtitution, which ſays, That a king of England ſhall have it in his power to do as much good as he pleaſes, but ſhall not have it in his power to do wrong?

"The objection as to general officers is likewiſe, my lords, founded upon a miſtake; for, if the noble lords had attended to the firſt reading of the bill, they muſt have known, that with reſpect to general officers, the power of the crown is to remain as before. The regulation propoſed is to extend no higher than colonels of regiments; and ſurely the continuing of the moſt deſigning, and the moſt daring men, in the command of a regiment for two or three months, after a diſcovery of his wicked deſigns, could be of no dangerous conſequence; even though the continuing him for that time were by this bill to be made neceſſary. But that is not the

caſe;

caſe; which leads me to conſider another miſtake, from which an argument hath been drawn, and much inſiſted on by ſome of the noble lords who ſpoke againſt the bill.

" The Pretender, my lords, I find is to be lugged into this queſtion, as he has been into ſome others, in which he had very little to do; and the danger the nation lies expoſed to from him, is made an argument for our not taking that care of our liberties and conſtitution which we ought. But the lords who make uſe of this argument ſeem not to take notice, that the king is ſtill to retain the power of ſuſpending and putting under an arreſt any officer, or number of officers, he pleaſes, and at whatever time or times he ſhall think proper; if the leaſt diſcovery therefore ſhould be made, that any officer or officers were drawn into a plot in favour of the Pretender, or any other plot againſt his majeſty's perſon and government, could not his majeſty immediately ſuſpend all ſuch officers from their commands? Could not he immediately lay them all under arreſt? nay, could not he immediately throw them all into a common priſon, or at leaſt into the hands of a meſſenger, and detain them there, till it ſhould be found convenient

to bring them to a trial before a court martial, or otherwiſe; or, at leaſt, till the parliament ſhould be called, in order to have an addreſs from this or the other houſe for breaking ſuch of them, againſt whom a legal proof could not be obtained?---Is it to be doubted that either this houſe or the other, or indeed both, would refuſe to addreſs his majeſty upon ſuch an occaſion?---And would not this as effectually diſappoint all their plots and contrivances, as if his majeſty had immediately broke every one of thoſe officers who were at firſt preſented to him as concerned in that plot?

"This bill, it has likewiſe been ſaid, would deſtroy the influence his majeſty ought always to have in the army, and annihilate the dependance the officers ought always to have upon the crown; but that, my lords, ſeems another miſtake, or at leaſt an overſight: for, notwithſtanding any proviſion in the bill, the power of naming and preferring the officers is to remain abſolute in the crown; and beſides, there will be many other ways left, by which the crown may ſecure the reſpect and dependance of all the officers in the army. So that there is nothing in this bill, that can poſſibly diminiſh that juſt and due influence which

the

the crown ought to have in the army. The hopes of preferment alone are ſufficient for influencing every officer to do his duty, and to ſhew that reſpect which is owed, both to the crown and to his ſuperior officers. They may not indeed be ſufficient for influencing an officer to act contrary to his duty, both as to his king and country, by obeying the private commands of a wicked miniſter: but this, my lords, and this only, is what is by this bill propoſed to be guarded againſt. All intended is, That no miniſter of ſtate ſhall hereafter have it in his power to tell an officer of the army, in a caſe that perhaps no way regards military diſcipline, "Sir! you ſhall do ſo and ſo, -- or ſtarve!"

"In ſhort, my lords, the regulation intended by the bill is what has been thought neceſſary in all free countries; in this I think it abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of our conſtitution: I can ſee no objection that can be made to it; and therefore I ſhall ſtill be for a ſecond reading."

But all his lordſhip's eloquence was in vain: the queſtion was carried in the negative.

The earl of Cheſterfield's next remarkable ſpeech was on his majeſty's meſſage

to the Houſe of Lords, (March twenty-eight of the ſame year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four) for "a power to augment his forces, if neceſſary, during the want of a parliament." After enlarging on the ſituation of foreign powers, his lordſhip proceeded thus:

"The dictatorical power was, my lords, a part of the Roman conſtitution, even from the very beginning of their republic: but, while they preſerved their virtue, while they preſerved their liberty, this power was never granted but upon the moſt important, the moſt urgent occaſions; and was never granted for a longer term than ſix months. When the virtue and public ſpirit of that once brave people began to decay, this power indeed was often granted upon trifling occaſions. It then began to be granted for a long term, and was ſoon after granted for life. With this laſt grant, they gave away the liberties of their country for ever: the dictator might die, but the power was handed down immediately to another; the tyranny became perpetual. The power now aſked for is, in ſome meaſure, a dictatorial power: it has but of late years crept into our conſtitution; it was never yet granted but on the moſt urgent occaſions: but if once we begin to grant

it

it for a time indefinite, and on ſuch ſuppoſitions as *may-bes*, I can eaſily foreſee what it will be---It will at laſt, nay it will ſoon, be either granted or taken for life; and then, adieu for ever to the liberties of Great Britain!

"I will allow, that, by our conſtitution, our kings have always had, during the interval of parliament, a ſort of dictatorial power; a power to take care that the commonwealth may be no ways injured: and, therefore, in caſe of any ſudden and unexpected danger, the king may raiſe forces, or may fit out a fleet, for preventing that danger; and, where the danger is real, it is certain the king never did, nor ever will want money, as long as there is any in the nation. For, upon ſuch an occaſion, no man will refuſe to lend his money to the government; and the parliament will certainly approve of what has been done, and provide for the repayment of what has been borrowed, providing it be made appear to them that there was a neceſſity for putting the nation to that expence. But the aſking for ſuch a power before-hand, looks as if ſomething were intended that could not well be approved of:---it looks as if the nation were to be put to an additional expence without any apparent reaſon for

ſo doing; and as if this anticipated credit were aſked from parliament in order to encourage people to lend their money to the public, though they ſee no neceſſity for ſuch public expence. No man will refuſe to let an infant of a good eſtate have whatever money may be neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence: for this he has little occaſion for any letter of credit from his guardians; but if his guardians ſhould be ſuch fools, or rather ſuch unfaithful guardians, as to give him an unlimitted letter of credit, for borrowing whatever he himſelf might think neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, it would certainly tend to throw him into extravagance, and might make him a prey for uſurers and extortioners.

" I am very well convinced, my lords, that the ſafety of the people will not be any way better ſecured by the reſolution now propoſed; but I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown will be no way enlarged. If it were really thought ſo, I am ſenſible no miniſter would ever give himſelf the trouble of perſuading the king to ſend ſuch a meſſage to parliament. But ſuppoſe I were convinced, that no additional power is by this propoſition to be granted to the king, that very conſideration would

with

with me be a moſt prevailing argument for being againſt it; for, it muſt be allowed, that what is now propoſed is ſomething very extraordinary, and contrary to all thoſe forms and methods of proceeding in parliament, which long experience has taught us to be neceſſary for the preſervation of our liberties. Why then ſhould we make ſo great an encroachment upon our conſtitution, if neither the ſafety of the people, nor the ſecurity of the crown, be thereby any way improved? This reaſon, I ſay, my lords, if there were none other, would prevail with me to be againſt agreeing to the propoſition now before us: but as I think it of the moſt dangerous conſequence to the liberties of the people; as I think that a power is thereby granted to the crown, which ought never to be granted but in caſes of the utmoſt, the moſt imminent danger, I ſhall therefore moſt heartily give my negative to it."

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven, when an indirect attempt was made upon the liberty of the preſs, by "a bill to limit the number of play houſes; and to ſubject all dramatic writers to the juriſdiction of the lord chamberlain, by obliging them to take out a licence for every production before

it can appear on the ſtage", Lord Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech, that will for ever endear his name to all the friends of genius, and all the lovers of liberty.

"Our ſtage," ſaid he, "ought certainly, my lords, to be kept within due bounds; but for this purpoſe, our laws as they ſtand at preſent are ſufficient. If our ſtage-players at any time exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted; they may be puniſhed. We have precedents, we have examples of perſons being puniſhed for things leſs criminal, than ſome pieces lately repreſented: a new law muſt therefore be unneceſſary; and, in the preſent caſe, it cannot be unneceſſary without being dangerous. Every unneceſſary reſtraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle upon the hands of liberty: and one of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy; one of the greateſt bleſſings, my lords, which a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its allay of evil: licentiouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excreſcence; it is a ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, which I dare never touch but with a gentle—with a trembling hand, leſt I injure the body; leſt I deſtroy the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

" If the ſtage becomes at any time licentious; if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is ſufficient to puniſh the offender: —and, in this caſe, the perſon injured has a ſingular advantage. He can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publiſher: the players themſelves are the publiſhers; and there can be no want of evidence to convict them.

" But, my lords, ſuppoſe it true, that the laws now in being are not ſufficient for putting a check to, or preventing the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; ſuppoſe it abſolutely neceſſary ſome new law ſhould be made for that purpoſe: yet it muſt be granted, that ſuch a law ought to be maturely conſidered, and every clauſe, every ſentence, nay every word of it well weighed and examined; leſt, under ſome of thoſe methods preſumed, or pretended to be neceſſary for reſtraining licentiouſneſs, a power ſhould lie concealed, which might afterwards be made uſe of to give a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a bill ought not therefore to be introduced at the cloſe of a ſeſſion; nor ought we, in the paſſing of ſuch a law, to depart from any of the forms preſcribed by our anceſtors for preventing deceit and ſurpriſe.

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There is ſuch a connection between licentiouſneſs and liberty, that it is not eaſy to correct the one without dangerouſly wounding the other. It is extremely hard to diſtinguiſh the true limit between them. In a changeable ſilk we can eaſily ſee there are two different colours; but we cannot eaſily diſcover where the one ends, and the other begins: they blend inſenſibly.

" While we complain of the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and of the inſufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reaſon, my lords, to complain of bad meaſures in our polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public, as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked meaſures, and to purſue ſuch only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule thoſe they love and eſteem, nor will they ſuffer them to be ridiculed. If ſuch an attempt is made, the ridicule returns upon the author: he makes himſelf only the object of public hatred and contempt. If any man therefore thinks he has been cenſured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, and he will

ſee

ſee the cauſe; let him alter his conduct, and he will find a remedy.

" The actions, or behaviour of a private man, may paſs unobſerved; and, conſequently, unapplauded, uncenſured: but the actions of thoſe in high ſtations, can neither paſs without notice, nor without cenſure or applauſe; and therefore an adminiſtration without eſteem, and without authority among the people, let their power be ever ſo great, let their power be ever ſo arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The ſevereſt edicts, the moſt terrible puniſhments, cannot entirely prevent it. It is not licentiouſneſs; it is an uſeful liberty always indulged the ſtage in a free country, that ſome great men may there meet with a juſt reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them.—Of this we have a famous inſtance in the Roman hiſtory.

" The great Pompey, after the many victories he had obtained, and the great conqueſts he had made, had certainly a good title to the eſteem of the people of Rome: yet that great man, by ſome error in his conduct, became an object of general diſlike; and, therefore, in the repreſentation of an old play, when Diphilus the actor came to repeat theſe words,

Noſtra

Noſtra Miſeria tu es MAGNUS, the audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who was at that time as well known by the name of *Magnus*, as by that of Pompey, and were ſo highly pleaſed with the ſatire, that, as Cicero tells us, they made the actor repeat the words a *hundred* times. An account of the matter was immediately ſent to Pompey; who, inſtead of reſenting it as an injury, was ſo wiſe as to take it for a juſt reproof: he examined his conduct; he altered his meaſures; he regained by degrees the eſteem of the people;—and then he neither feared the wit, nor felt the ſatire of the ſtage.

"This is an example which ought to be followed by great men in all countries. Such accidents will often happen in every free country; and many ſuch would probably have afterwards happened at Rome, if the Romans had continued to enjoy their liberties: but this ſort of liberty in the ſtage came ſoon after, I ſuppoſe, to be called *licentiouſneſs*; for we are told that Auguſtus, after having eſtabliſhed his empire, reſtored order in Rome, by "reſtraining licentiouſneſs." God forbid we ſhould ever in this country have order reſtored, or licentiouſneſs reſtrained, at ſo dear a rate as the Romans paid for it to Auguſtus!

"In

" In the caſe I have mentioned, my lords, it was neither the poet nor the player, it was the people that pointed the ſatire; —and the caſe will always be the ſame. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people; when public meaſures are deſpiſed, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be deſigned, as a ſatire on the preſent times. Nay, even though the people ſhould not apply, thoſe who are conſcious of guilt—thoſe who are conſcious of the wickedneſs of their own conduct, will take to themſelves what the author never deſigned. We have an inſtance of this in the caſe of a famous comedian of the laſt age; a comedian, who was not only a good poet, but an honeſt man, and a quiet good ſubject.

" When the celebrated Moliere wrote his Tartuffe, which is certainly an excellent moral comedy, he did not deſign to ſatirize any particular man: yet a great man in France at that time took it to himſelf, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal, and one of the worſt characters in the play. Happily he was not the licenſer, otherwiſe France had never had the pleaſure—the felicity, I may ſay, of ſeeing that comedy acted. But though he was

not,

not, when the players firſt propoſed to act it at Paris, he had intereſt enough to get it forbid. Moliere, who knew himſelf innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that as his play was deſigned only to expoſe hypocriſy, or a falſe pretence to religion, it was very hard it ſhould be prohibited; particularly, when they were ſuffered to expoſe religion itſelf publickly every night upon the Italian ſtage. To which the prince wittily replied, "It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and expoſes religion; but you have done much worſe: you have ridiculed the firſt *miniſter* of religion."

"I am as much for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and every other ſort of licentiouſneſs, as any of your lordſhips can be; but I have many reaſons for being againſt the paſſing of this bill, ſome of which I ſhall beg leave to explain. The bill, my lords, may at firſt view ſeem deſigned only againſt the ſtage; but, to me, it plainly appears to point ſomewhere elſe. It is an arrow, that does but glance upon the ſtage: the mortal wound ſeems deſigned againſt the liberty of the preſs. By this bill you prevent a play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed; if a licence, therefore, ſhould be

refuſed

refuſed for its being acted, we may depend upon it, the play will be printed. It will be printed and publiſhed, my lords, with the refuſal in capital letters on the title-page. People are always fond of what is forbidden: this will infallibly procure a good ſale. Thus will ſatires be ſpread and diſperſed through the whole nation; and thus every man in the kingdom may read for ſix-pence what a few only could have ſeen acted, and that not under double the expence. We ſhall then be told, "What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and diſperſed, which you would not allow to be acted? —You have agreed to a law for preventing its being acted, can you refuſe your aſſent to a law for preventing its being printed and publiſhed?" And I ſhould be glad, my lords, to know what reaſon you could give for being againſt the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I proteſt, I cannot figure to myſelf the leaſt ſhadow even of an excuſe.—Thus, my lords, from the precedent now before us, we ſhall be led—nay we can find no reaſon for refuſing to lay the preſs under a general licence; and then we may bid adieu to the liberties of Great Britain.

"But granting it neceſſary, my lords, which I am far from thinking, to make a new

a new law for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; yet I ſhall never be for eſtabliſhing ſuch a power as is propoſed by this bill. If poets and players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained as other ſubjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried, as every Engliſhman ought to be, by God and their country. Let us not ſubject them to the arbitary will and pleaſure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man, to judge and determine without limitation, controul, or appeal, is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, and inconſiſtent with our conſtitution: it is a higher and more abſolute power than we truſt even to the king himſelf; I muſt therefore think, we ought not to veſt any ſuch power in his majeſty's lord chamberlain.

"I ſhall admit, my lords, that the ſtage ought not, upon any occaſion, to meddle with politics; and for this very reaſon, among the reſt, I am againſt the bill now before us. This bill will be ſo far from preventing the ſtage's meddling with politics, that I fear it will be the occaſion of its meddling with nothing elſe: but then it will be a political ſtage, *ex parte*. It will be made ſubſervient to the politics and ſchemes of the court only.

The

The licentiouſneſs of the ſtage will be encouraged, inſtead of being reſtrained; but, like court-journaliſts, it will be licentious only againſt the patrons of liberty, and the protectors of the people. Whatever man, whatever party, oppoſes the court in any of their moſt deſtructive ſchemes, will be repreſented on the ſtage in the moſt ridiculous light the hirelings of a court can contrive. True patriotiſm, and love of public good, will be repreſented as madneſs; or as a cloke for envy, diſappointment, and malice, whilſt the moſt flagitious crimes, the moſt extravagant vices and follies, if they are faſhionable at court, will be diſguiſed and dreſſed up in the habit of the moſt amiable virtues. This, at leaſt, we know was the caſe in the reign of king Charles II. when the ſtage was under a licence.

" The proper buſineſs of the ſtage, my lords, and that for which only it is uſeful, is to expoſe thoſe vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend thoſe talents and virtues, which miniſters and courtiers ſeldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court-licence too, you will, in my opinion, entirely pervert its uſe: for every ſort of vice and folly, in all countries, generally begins

begins at court, and from thence ſpreads through the country. By laying the ſtage, therefore, under an arbitrary court-licence, inſtead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle ſcourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices through the whole kingdom.

" From theſe conſiderations, my lords, I think it muſt appear, that the bill now before us cannot ſo properly be called a bill for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs, as a bill for reſtraining the liberty of the ſtage; and for reſtraining it too in that branch, which in all countries has been found the moſt uſeful: I muſt therefore look upon the bill, as a moſt dangerous encroachment on liberty in general. Nay more, my lords; it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, it is likewiſe an encroachment on property. Wit, my lords, is a ſort of property:—it is the property of thoſe who have it; and too often, alas! the only property they have to depend on. We---thank God, my lords! have a dependence of another kind; we have a much leſs precarious ſupport, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniencies of the bill now before us: but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, to whomſoever

it

it may belong. Thoſe gentlemen who have ſuch property, are all, I hope, our friends: let us not therefore ſubject them to any unneceſſary or arbitrary reſtraint.

"I muſt own, my lords, I cannot eaſily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed—it is to be exciſed:—for, if the bill paſſes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way, without a permit;—and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief gauger, ſupervifor, commiſſioner, judge, and jury. Theſe hardſhips, this hazard, to which every gentleman will be expoſed who writes for the ſtage, muſt certainly prevent every man of a generous and free ſpirit from attempting any thing in that way; and, as the ſtage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I ſpeak againſt this bill, I muſt think I plead the cauſe of wit; I plead the cauſe of humour; I plead the cauſe of genius, and of every gentleman of taſte in the kingdom."

The bill, however, paſſed by the influence of the miniſtry: but his Lordſhip's ſpeech, which can never be ſufficiently admired on account of the liberal ſpirit that it breathes, and which may be conſidered as a model of ſenatorial eloquence, awakened a jealouſy for the liberty of the preſs,

preſs, which has hitherto prevented any ſecond attempt upon it.

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-eight, Lord Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpirited harangue againſt "a ſtanding army;" and in the ſame year, he attacked Sir Robert Walpole's inglorious "convention with Spain," with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of ſatire. As the firſt is a general, and the laſt but a temporary ſubject, I ſhall only give his Lordſhip's ſpeech for the reduction of the army.

"Neceſſity, my lords,"—ſaid he,—"was pleaded for our firſt ſtanding army; and that neceſſity was to laſt but for a year:—that army was to be kept up but till our next ſeſſion of parliament. The friends of liberty and our conſtitution then indeed propheſied, that the neceſſity pretended would laſt for ever; and that a ſtanding army, if once introduced, would become perpetual, which the courtiers pretended to think impoſſible. Experience, however, has ſince ſhewed us the certainty of that pretended impoſſibility.

"A body of guards were the firſt regular troops kept up by the authority of parliament. The friends of liberty looked upon thoſe guards as the ſeeds of a ſtanding

ſtanding army, and propheſied that, like all pernicious weeds, they would increaſe vaſtly; that they would increaſe ſo as to choak our conſtitution. The firſt part of this propheſy has been fulfilled; God grant the other may not!

" A courtier would then have ſaid, it was impoſſible that a body of guards, not exceeding eight hundred men, ſhould increaſe to an army of eighteen thouſand; ---and yet we ſee it has come to paſs. Upon every occaſion the word *neceſſity* was urged for increaſing, as it had at firſt been for eſtabliſhing, this body of regular troops: a few more troops were always ſaid to be neceſſary; a few more could ſubject us to no danger!---ſo that by a few more, and a few more, we at laſt arrived at the number we have on foot.

" To keep up a numerous army, my lords, for the ſake of guarding againſt dangers that can only be ſaid to be poſſible, is to expoſe ourſelves to thoſe that are probable. Nay, I may go farther; I may ſay, that the keeping up of a numerous army in time of peace, is no proper ſafeguard againſt thoſe poſſible dangers it is kept up to prevent, and expoſes us to dangers that are certain. Slavery and arbitrary power are the certain conſequences of keeping up a ſtanding army; if

if it be kept up for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of ſlavery are rivetted upon a free people, and wants only a ſkilful and proper hand to ſet it a going. This it will certainly at laſt---perhaps too ſoon, meet with, if you do not break it in pieces, before the artiſt takes hold of it. It is the only machine by which the chains of ſlavery can be rivetted upon us. They may be ſecretly prepared by another---by corruption; which, like the dark and dirty channel through which it runs, may hiddenly and imperceptibly forge our chains,---but by corruption they can be forged only: it is by a numerous ſtanding army that they muſt be rivetted. Without ſuch an army, we ſhould break them aſunder, as ſoon as we perceived them, and ſhould chop off the polluted hands of thoſe that had prepared them.

" It is no argument, my lords, to ſay, we have kept up an army for many years, without being ſenſible of any danger. The young fiery courſer is never brought at once to ſubmit to the curb, and patiently to take his rider upon his back. If you put the bit into his mouth, without any previous preparation, or put a weak and unſkilful rider upon his back, he will probably break the neck of his rider: but by degrees you may make him tamely

ſubmit to both. A free people muſt be treated in the ſame manner: by degrees they muſt be accuſtomed to be governed by an army; by degrees that army muſt be made ſtrong enough to hold them in ſubjection. We have already, for many years, been accuſtoming our people to be governed by an army, under pretence of making uſe of that army only to aſſiſt the civil power; and, by degrees, we have for ſeveral years been increaſing the number, and conſequently the ſtrength of our army.

"At the acceſſion of his late majeſty, my lords, our army was but ſix thouſand: it ſoon amounted to twice that number; and, under various pretences, it has ſince been augmented. It has been increaſing almoſt every year:---and hence I conclude, that ſlavery, under the diſguiſe of an army, for protecting our liberties, is creeping in upon us by degrees. For, if no reduction is made this year, I ſhall expect, in a few years, to hear ſome miniſter, or favourite of a miniſter, terrifying us with imaginary plots and invaſions, and making the tour of Europe in ſearch of poſſible dangers, in order to ſhew us the neceſſity of keeping up a mercenary ſtanding army three times as numerous as the preſent."

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-nine, the earl of Cheſterfield vented his keeneſt indignation againſt the Daniſh ſubſidy; and, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty, he boldly ſupported the duke of Argyle's motion, "that a general addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, inſtead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's ſpeech, with expreſſions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the meaſures of the miniſter"

"I know, my lords,"—ſaid he,—"it has been a cuſtom of late years, to make the addreſs of this Houſe a ſort of echo to his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne; and, as echoes never fail to repeat the laſt words of a ſentence, ſo it ſeems we muſt never fail echoing back the laſt paragraph of his majeſty's ſpeech. This, I ſay, has been a cuſtom for ſome years paſt; but I cannot think, that a religious obſervance of this cuſtom is either conſiſtent with the character we ought to preſerve, or neceſſary for ſhewing our reſpect to our ſovereign.

"Can any one with juſtice ſay, my lords, that prejudices, heats, and animoſities, have of late been intermixed with our deliberations?---Can any one with

juſtice ſay, that there has lately been any diviſion among the people of this nation? I am really aſtoniſhed how ſuch words could creep into his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne. The ſpeech, it is true, is generally ſaid to be the ſpeech of the miniſter, but I wonder what miniſter dared to tell his majeſty, that there have been, or ever were, any heats or animoſities in our deliberations, or that there have lately been any diviſions amongſt his people. I believe there is no aſſembly in the world, where deliberations and debates are carried on with more decency and calmneſs: I believe the people of this nation were never leſs divided in their ſentiments, than they have been of late years.

" The people of England, my lords, were never perhaps ſo unanimous in any one thing, as they have for ſeveral years been in deſiring to have an opportunity of revenging themſelves againſt the Spaniards. The only diviſion, if it can be called ſo, that has of late appeared amongſt us, has been between a few of our miniſters, or one ſole miniſter, and his immediate dependants, on the one ſide, and the whole body of the people, on the other; and ſuch a diviſion can, in no ſenſe, be called a diviſion among the

people: for in this country, I think, the people and the adminiſtration are two terms that are generally made uſe of as oppoſite to each other; and there was never greater reaſon for making uſe of theſe two terms in this ſenſe, than there has been for ſeveral years paſt. Then, with regard to heats and animoſities, can any one ſay that there has been lately any heat or animoſity amongſt the people?—that is, amongſt any one ſet, or party of them, againſt another. There have, indeed, been great heats and animoſities in the notion; but, in this too, the people have been all united. They have moſt juſtly ſhewn heats and animoſities againſt the Spaniards; and, as juſtly againſt thoſe who have ſo long prevented their doing themſelves juſtice. Our heats and animoſities then, like our diviſions, have been between the whole body of our people on one ſide, and our miniſters and enemies on the other. If any man, therefore, has of late years preſumed to ſay to his majeſty, that there were heats or animoſities in any of our deliberations, or that there are diviſions amongſt his people, it muſt be one of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations that ever was whiſpered into the ear of any ſovereign: and ſhall we, by any expreſſion in our addreſs,

addreſs, countenance ſuch a miſrepreſentation; and enter, as it were, into a combination for putting an impoſition upon our prince, that muſt give him a bad opinion, not only of his people, but alſo of this aſſembly, of which we have the honour to be members?---Such a conduct, with regard to the people, would be moſt unjuſt; and, with regard to ourſelves, it would be a kind of *felo de ſe.*"

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-one, a time when patriotiſm was very rare, the earl of Cheſterfield, always ſteady to his principles, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſenſible and ſpirited ſpeech in favour of the bill, 'to prevent penſioners from ſitting in parliament.'

"The other houſe,"—ſaid he,—"muſt always be better judges of what paſſes, or may paſs within their own walls than we can pretend to be. It is evident they ſuſpect, that corrupt practices have been, or may be made uſe of, for gaining an undue influence over ſome of their members; and they have calculated this bill for curing the evil, if it is felt;---for preventing it, if it is only foreſeen. That any ſuch practices have actually been made uſe of, or are now made uſe of, is what

I ſhall not pretend to affirm; but, I am ſure, I will not affirm the contrary. If any ſuch are made uſe of, I will, with confidence, vindicate his majeſty: I am ſure he knows nothing of them; I am ſure he would diſdain to ſuffer them. But I cannot paſs ſuch a compliment upon his miniſters, nor upon any ſet of miniſters that ever was, or will be, in this nation; and therefore, I think, I cannot more faithfully, more effectually, ſerve his preſent majeſty, or his ſucceſſors, than by putting it out of the power of any miniſter to gain a corrupt influence over either Houſe of Parliament. Such an attempt may be neceſſary for the ſecurity of the miniſter, but muſt always be inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of his maſter; and the more neceſſary it is for the miniſter's ſecurity, the more inconſiſtent it will always be with the king's, and the more dangerous to the liberties of the nation.

To pretend, my lords, that this bill diminiſhes, or any way encroaches upon the prerogative, is ſomething very ſtrange. What prerogative, my lords?---Has not the crown a prerogative to bribe?---to infringe the laws, by ſending its penſioners into the other houſe?---To ſay ſo, is deſtroying the credit, the authority of the

the crown, under pretence of ſupporting its prerogative. If his majeſty knew that any man received a penſion from him, or any thing like a penſion, and yet kept his ſeat in the other houſe, he would himſelf declare it, or withdraw his penſion, becauſe he knows it is againſt law. This bill, therefore, no way diminiſhes or encroaches upon the prerogatives of the crown, which can never be exerciſed but for the public good: It diminiſhes only the prerogatives uſurped by miniſters, which are never exerciſed but for its deſtruction. The crown may ſtill reward merit in the proper way; that is, openly. The bill is intended, and can operate only againſt clandeſtine rewards, or gratuities, given by miniſters. Theſe are ſcandalous; and never were, or will be given, but for baſe ſervices.

"Thoſe who ſay, they depend ſo much upon the honour, integrity, and impartiality of men of family and fortune, ſeem to think our conſtitution can never be diſſolved, as long as we have the ſhadow of a parliament. My opinion, my lords, is ſo very different, that, if ever our conſtitution be diſſolved, if ever an abſolute monarchy be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, which heaven avert! I am convinced it will be under that ſhadow. Our conſti-

tution conſiſts in the two Houſes of Parliament being a check upon the crown, as well as upon each other. If that check ſhould ever be removed; if the crown ſhould by corrupt means, by places, penſions, and bribes, get the abſolute direction of our two Houſes of Parliament, our conſtitution will from that moment be deſtroyed. There would be no occaſion for the crown to proceed any further: it would be ridiculous to lay aſide the forms of parliament; for, under that ſhadow our king would be more abſolute, and might govern more arbitrarily than he could do without it. A gentleman of family and fortune would not perhaps for the ſake of a penſion, agree to lay aſide the forms of parliament; becauſe by his venal ſervice there he earns his infamous penſion, and could not expect the continuance of it, if thoſe forms were laid aſide; but a gentleman of family and fortune may, for the ſake of a penſion, whilſt he is in parliament, approve of the moſt blundering meaſures, conſent to the moſt exceſſive and uſeleſs grants, enact the moſt oppreſſive laws, paſs the moſt villainous accounts, acquit the moſt heinous criminals, and condemn the moſt innocent perſons, at the deſire of that miniſter who pays him his penſion. And,

if

if a majority of each Houſe of Parliament conſiſts of ſuch men, would it not be ridiculous in us to talk of our conſtitution, or to ſay we had any liberty left?

"If people would conſider the conſequences of corruption, there would be no occaſion for making laws againſt it; if they would reflect, that they not only ſell their country but themſelves; that they become the bond-ſlaves of the corruptor, who corrupts them not for their ſakes but his own, they would reject the offer with diſdain. But this degree of reflecton is not to be expected; the hiſtory of all nations evinces the weakneſs of human nature: it is therefore neceſſary, in every free ſtate, to contrive effectual laws againſt corruption; and as the laws we now have, for excluding penſioners from the other Houſe, are allowed to be ineffectual, we ought to make a trial at leaſt of the remedy now propoſed."

Immediately after the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, created earl of Orford, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two, a committee of the Houſe of Commons was appointed to inſpect into his conduct during the laſt ten years of his being firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. Accordingly perſons,

papers, and records, were ſent for: but Nicholas Paxton, Eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, refuſing to anſwer the queſtions aſked of him, the committee found it impoſſible to lay a clear ſtate of the affair before the Houſe, and reported the ſame. Upon this report the Houſe brought in a bill for indemnifying ſuch perſons as ſhould upon examination, make diſcoveries touching the diſpoſition of public money, or other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford."

The bill paſſed, and was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, where a warm debate enſued. It was vigorouſly oppoſed by Lord Carteret, lately at the head of the oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, but who had now complied with the meaſures of the court, as had likewiſe Mr. Pulteney, the Cicero of the Houſe of Commons. The earl of Cheſterfield was ſtill the ſame, and ſpoke in favour of the bill with all the ardour of patriotiſm.

"In all ſocieties, my lords,"---ſaid he,---"the government muſt, in the laſt reſort, be abſolute and arbitrary: in all governments, even the moſt ſaviſh, there is a certain ſet of eſtabliſhed laws for trying and puniſhing crimes of an ordinary nature, by which little villains are obliged to ſubmit to the fate appointed by

by the law; and in all governments, even the moſt free, there muſt be an extraordinary and arbitrary power for trying crimes of an extraordinary nature; to the end, that great and extraordinary villains may not be allowed to plunder the public with impunity. But the difference is, that in ſlaviſh governments this laſt reſort, this extraordinary and abſolute power, and the judging in what caſes it is to be made uſe of, is lodged in one or a few tyrants; whereas, in free governments, it is lodged in the whole body of the people. In our government, which is of a mixt kind, it is lodged in king, lords, and commons; and can never, or very rarely, be made a wrong uſe of, as long as the other Houſe delivers the ſentiments of the people, and not the ſentiments of the miniſter. Whilſt they do ſo, our government will be a free government, and none but the guilty will ever ſuffer by the uſe of this extraordinary and arbitrary power: but if the other Houſe ſhould ever, by corruption, be brought under a ſlaviſh dependance on the crown, they will then in no caſe deliver the ſentiments of the people, but the ſentiments of the miniſter; and, conſidering the power the crown has got (I do not know how) of ſending whom it pleaſes, and as

many as it pleaſes into this Houſe, we may certainly ſuppoſe that this Houſe will be brought to do the ſame. Our government will then become an abſolute and a ſlaviſh government; becauſe this laſt reſort, this extraordinary and abſolute power, as well as the judging in what caſes it is to be made uſe of, will then be lodged ſolely in the king, or rather in his prime miniſter; and it will here, as in other ſlaviſh governments, be made uſe of, not for puniſhing the greateſt villains, but for deſtroying the beſt friends to their country.

"Can your lordſhips think, can any reaſonable man think, that a ſociety ought not to inflict a condign puniſhment upon an atrocious crime, becauſe they never before thought of making a law againſt it? Can you think, that a ſociety ought not to try and condemn an atrocious and notorious criminal, becauſe the crime is of ſuch a nature, or becauſe the criminal has been ſo cunning, that he cannot be tried and convicted by the uſual or regular methods that have by law or cuſtom been eſtabliſhed?---In all ſuch caſes the ſupreme and abſolute power of the ſociety is to take place; which, by our conſtitution, is to be exerciſed by way of impeachment, or by way of bill of attainder, or

or bill of pains and penalties: and in order to determine, whether it is to be exerciſed or no, or according to what method it is to be exerciſed, there muſt be a previous parliamentary inquiry; in the carrying on of which, we are reſtrained by no rules but thoſe of common ſenſe and common reaſon, and much leſs by thoſe rules that have been preſcribed for inquiring into, or trying offences at common law.

" The chief objection againſt this bill, my lords, ſeems to be its being directed againſt a particular man. The caſe of the earl of Macclesfield, however, already cited, is a proof that this is no real fault in the bill: but, if it were, the fault is not in thoſe of the other Houſe, who are for an inquiry, but in thoſe who ſeem afraid of an impartial inquiry into any part of the late conduct of our public affairs. There were two motions in the other Houſe for a general inquiry; but they were both rejected by thoſe who pretend to be the friends of the very perſon againſt whom this bill ſeems to be directed; by which means thoſe who think ſome ſort of inquiry neceſſary, were reduced to the neceſſity of making their motion particular, and for a limited time too.

" When

"When this motion was made I ſhall not ſay,

Aſſenſere omnes, et quæ ſibi quiſque timebat,
Unius in miſeri exitium converſa tulere;

but it is certain that this motion was carried: and thoſe who were of opinion, that ſome dangerous practices had been carrying on, were certainly in the right to attack the chief criminal, by himſelf alone; ſince they had from experience ſome ground to believe, the herd was too numerous to be attacked in a body. If he is innocent, I am ſure no other perſon can be guilty; and the oppoſition made to this bill, both in the other houſe and this, may be a full aſſurance, that he will be in no danger of ſuffering by any conſpiracy, or falſe information.

If he is innocent, my lords, the very bill now before us, provides againſt his being in danger of ſuffering by a falſe information; and, if he be guilty, the report upon which it is founded muſt convince us, that without ſuch a bill we can expect no true information. When I conſider this report, I am really amazed to hear it ſaid, that we have not yet diſcovered any crime, or that we only think we have diſcovered the criminal. Is it not evident, that Paxton was an under agent

agent of the treaſury?—Is it not evident, that Paxton has received moſt exceſſive ſums of money without any account? Is it not evident, that he has received moſt illegal and unheard of favours from the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury? Is it not evident, that he has paid vaſt ſums of money for corrupting and influencing elections? Do not the perſons to whom he paid thoſe ſums declare, that they always believed it to be public money?—And is it not evident, from his own circumſtances, that he could not advance thoſe ſums out of his own eſtate? Do not all theſe circumſtances amount to a preſumption, almoſt equal to a proof, that Paxton has employed the public money in corrupting elections; and that in this dangerous and treaſonable practice he was employed by his patron, the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury?

"We have already, my lords, diſcovered the crime; we have already diſcovered the criminal, almoſt as far as is poſſible without ſuch a bill as this. Upon former occaſions, and when unhappy men have been proſecuted in parliament by the crown, we have heard of a proof that might convince, though it could not convict. We know who firſt made uſe of this diſtinction. If ſuch a diſtinction is

ever

ever to be admitted, ſurely it is in favour of a bill for enabling us to find a convicting proof, after we have found a proof that is almoſt convincing. This is the caſe at preſent. We have diſcovered the crime; we have, in part, diſcovered the principal criminal: we have almoſt a convincing proof as to both; and this bill is deſired, as the only method by which the perſon ſuſpected may be cleared of ſuſpicion, or convicted of guilt.

" With regard to Paxton, my lords, the other houſe has done nothing but what is uſual [they had committed him to Newgate] as well as legal; and as nothing is deſired by this bill, but what is conſiſtent with common ſenſe, as well as common law—nothing but what is conſtantly practiſed by the crown in all caſes whatſoever, I can ſee no reaſon for not paſſing it, but that of ſcreening the guilty. This I can never ſuſpect your lordſhips of; but I will not anſwer for what may be ſaid, as well as thought, by people without doors: for a moſt general ſuſpicion has ariſen, that the public money, and all the poſts and offices in the kingdom have of late been converted towards procuring a corrupt influence both at elections and in parliament.

" I ſhall

" I ſhall readily admit, my lords, that no man ought to do or approve of what he thinks is wrong for the ſake of popularity; but as the people are very ſeldom in the wrong, or at leaſt do not often perſiſt long in a wrong opinion, and as popularity, and the eſteem of one's country, is certainly a very deſirable thing, a man ſhould examine thoroughly, and be very fully convinced, before he takes upon him to diſſent from a great majority of his countrymen. Whilſt I ſit in this aſſembly, therefore, I ſhall always adviſe my ſovereign to give great heed to any opinion that prevails generally among the people: I ſhall never adviſe him to purſue any meaſure that is contrary to the ſentiments of the majority of his ſubjects. If I were in any other of his majeſty's councils, I ſhould do the ſame. Even if I thought the people in the wrong, I ſhould be for giving way to their humour, as far as was conſiſtent with their ſafety. In a free country, this is abſolutely neceſſary. A free people muſt be treated like a fine woman. If ſhe has now and then a little caprice, you muſt not flatly contradict her: you muſt give way, or at leaſt ſeem to give way to her humour; till, by good treatment, and a delicate oppoſition, you find an opportunity to give a turn to her temper.

temper. This is the only way by which you can clap the padlock upon her mind; and this, in my opinion, is the only padlock in which there is any ſecurity. A free people muſt be treated in the ſame manner: for, if you do not clap the padlock upon their mind, you muſt govern them by force, which puts an end to their freedom; and, in my opinion, to your ſecurity.

"For this reaſon, my lords, if there was no other argument in favour of the bill, I ſhould be for paſſing it into a law; becauſe it is generally approved of, and generally expected without doors; and as I can ſee no force in any of the arguments that have been made uſe of for ſhewing it to be inconſiſtent with, or of dangerous conſequence to our conſtitution, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my concurrence."

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty three, the miniſtry being preſſed for money to fulfil their foreign engagements, a bill was framed for "repealing an act paſſed in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-ſix, by which very heavy duties (amounting to a prohibition) were laid upon gin and other home-made ſpirits, and for impoſing others at an *eaſier* rate."

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This bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons without much oppoſition; but, in the Houſe of Lords, it produced one of the moſt obſtinate diſputes ever known, and certainly with great juſtice; for, whatever need the government might be in of money, it ought not to have been raiſed by tolerating the infamous vice of drunkenneſs: more eſpecially, as the nation had been lately ſo ſenſible of the fatal effects of the pernicious liquid in queſtion upon the common people. Theſe effects cannot be better deſcribed than in the words of the biſhop of Oxford. "Permit me to remind your Lordſhips," ſaid he, "of the horrible ſcenes that appeared publickly in our ſtreets, before paſſing the law which you are now to repeal. Almoſt in every ſtreet, we had two or three gin-ſhops, filled with ſuch company as no ſober man could view without horror; and yet this was not the worſt. There was an inviſible ſcene ſtill more terrible to think of: for, they tell me, every one of theſe gin-ſhops had a back ſhop or cellar, ſtrewed every morning with freſh ſtraw, where thoſe that got drunk were thrown, men and women, promiſcuouſly together. Here they might commit what wickedneſs they pleaſed; and, by ſleeping out the doſe they had taken, make themſelves ready

ready to take another, if they could find money to pay for it.

" Theſe open ſcenes of wickedneſs we got rid of by the law you are now to repeal. But this law, it is ſaid, did not put a ſtop to the conſumption; though ſpirituous liquors were not publickly, they were privately retailed as much as ever. I am ſorry for it, my lords: I am ſorry the law was not better executed; but this ſhall never be an argument with me for allowing a public retail: I ſhall always be for confining vice as much as poſſible to holes and corners; --- and it muſt be allowed that the temptation can never be ſo great, or ſo general, as when we have a public ſhop at every corner, where a poor paſſenger is often drawn in by ſome friend, perhaps ſome *female* friend, and by variety of company and example, as well as by the nature of the liquor, is enticed to drink too much.

" But the other day, as I am credibly informed, two children were murdered by giving them a ſpoonful of that pernicious liquor called *gin*; and many children are murdered in the womb, or upon the breaſt, by the mother's drinking too plentifully of that poiſonous liquid. Will you then, my lords, commit the care of diſpenſing this poiſon to every alehouſe-

keeper,

keeper, to every man in the kingdom, who is willing to pay half a crown to the juſtices, and twenty ſhillings a year to the government for a licence? – Will you enable them to diſpenſe this poiſon at ſo cheap a rate, that a poor thoughtleſs creature may get drunk for three-pence, and purchaſe immediate death for ſixpence?"

Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurſt, and the Earl of Bath, all recent patriots, were among the advocates for the bill: it was oppoſed by lord Hervy, now metamorphoſed into a ſturdy patriot, by the loſs of the privy ſeal, and by ſeveral prelates, beſides the biſhop of Oxford. The Earl of Cheſterfield attacked it with the united powers of reaſon, wit, and ridicule.

"I am ſurprized,"---ſaid he,---"how any lord of this houſe can ſuppoſe the bill before us deſigned for ſuppreſſing, or putting a ſtop to the exceſſive drinking of ſpirituous liquors. In my opinion, the very title of the bill ought to be altered; it ought to be called, 'A bill for encouraging the conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, by enabling all the poor in the kingdom to get drunk as often as they pleaſe.'

"I ſhall grant, my lords,"—continued he,---"that gin is now clandeſtinely retailed at moſt alehouſes, and at many other

houſes: but this is done privately, and to ſuch people as the landlord can truſt. It is not ſold openly in a public room, where variety of companies meet, and where the example of one company incites another to the uſe, perhaps the abuſe of this pernicious liquor; which will be the caſe, as ſoon as this bill begins to operate as a law. The reſtraint people have been under for ſome years, will make them more extravagant, when they find themſelves at full liberty. This bill will therefore, in my opinion, quite alter the old Engliſh ſort of drunkenneſs, which proceeded from hoſpitality and good fellowſhip. If they did, in former days, get drunk, it was with ſtrong beer, or ale, which is a ſort of ſoporific. While they were drinking they were merry; when they got drunk, they went to ſleep. But our modern liquor, called *gin*, has converted drunkenneſs into madneſs. It admits of no mirth, no converſation. The company grow mad, before they well know what they are about; and the more they drink, the more ripe they grow for any wickedneſs or extravagance.

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of

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the ten commandments? --- Would not ſuch a tax be wicked and ſcandalous, as it would imply an indulgence to all thoſe who could pay the tax ?-- Is not this a reproach moſt juſtly thrown by proteſtants upon the church of Rome? Was it not the chief cauſe of the Reformation? And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon thoſe that introduced it? This is the very caſe now before us: you are going to lay a tax, and conſequently to indulge a ſort of drunkenneſs, which almoſt neceſſarily produces a breach of every one of the ten commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this?—I am convinced they will not; and therefore I wiſh I had ſeen it full upon this occaſion. I am ſure I have ſeen it fuller upon other occaſions, in which religion was not ſo much concerned.

"We have already, my lords, ſeveral ſorts of funds in this nation; ſo many, that a man muſt have a good deal of learning to be maſter of them. Thanks to his majeſty! we have now amongſt us the moſt learned man of the nation in this way: [the earl of Orford, formerly Sir Robert Walpole.] I wiſh he would riſe up and tells us, what name we are to give to this new fund. We have already

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the Civil Liſt fund, the Sinking fund, the Aggregate fund, the South Sea fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are to give to the new fund, I know not; unleſs we are to call it the Drinking fund. It may perhaps enable the people of a certain foreign territory [Hanover] to drink claret, but it will diſable the people of this kingdom from drinking any thing elſe but gin: for when a man has, by gin-drinking, rendered himſelf unfit for labour or buſineſs, he can purchaſe nothing elſe; and then the beſt thing he can do is, to drink on till he dies.

"But, my lords, to be ſerious upon this ſubject, for it is really an affair that deſerves your moſt ſerious conſideration; I wiſh your Lordſhips would declare, what is truly your meaning by this bill: for I think it inconſiſtent with your dignity to declare what no man in England will believe you mean. I herefore wiſh you would declare openly and freely, that you hereby intend to promote the exceſſive drinking of gin, in order to increaſe his majeſty's revenue; for no reaſonable man will ſuppoſe you intend to diſcourage, much leſs prohibit this vice, by giving every man that pleaſes an indulgence, not only to practice it himſelf, but to promote

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it in others, upon condition of his paying a ſmall tax yearly. For this reaſon, I think, you ought to prefix to the bill a preamble in theſe, or the like words:---
'Whereas his majeſty has occaſion for a large ſum of money for maintaining his Hanoverian troops, and the Britiſh troops ſent, for what purpoſe we know not, to Flanders; and whereas a very conſiderable new revenue may be raiſed by permitting the people of England to poiſon themſelves with a liquor called *gin*, which of late years the poor have grown extremely fond of, therefore be it enacted——'

"Such a preamble, I ſhall grant, my lords, would not be very conſiſtent with that regard which you profeſs, and ought to have for the people; but, in my opinion, it would be more conſiſtent with your dignity than any other: for no man of any honour will profeſs one thing when he means the direct contrary; and a man, who has a regard to his character, will be cautious of profeſſing what no man in the world will believe he means.

"If our people muſt make uſe of ſpirituous liquors, I ſhall always be for encouraging them to make uſe of thoſe of a home, rather than of a foreign manufacture: but I ſhall never be for raiſing the Britiſh diſtillery upon the deſtruction of

the Britiſh people; and therefore I ſhall always be for laying ſuch reſtraints upon the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, even thoſe of our own manufacture, as may prevent, as much as poſſible, the people from deſtroying themſelves by the abuſe. The means of doing this are known; and, from experience, manifeſt. Brandy and rum are certainly as palatable as any ſort of home-made ſpirit; yet the abuſe, or exceſſive uſe of theſe liquors, never became general among the people:---and why? The reaſon, my lords, is plain: we have ſubjected them to ſuch high duties, as render it impoſſible for a poor man to commit frequent debauches in them; and, if willing, we might eaſily do the ſame with regard to all home-made ſpirits. A duty of three or four ſhillings per gallon, upon the ſtill-head, would have the ſame effect as to them, that our high duties have with regard to rum and brandy; and the payment of this duty might be as eaſily, and as effectually enforced, as the payment of the other.

"But ſuch a duty as this, my lords, would certainly diminiſh the conſumption: nay, it would probably diminiſh the revenue ariſing from that conſumption; and therefore, I am afraid, it will never be thought of, much leſs propoſed, by miniſters

niſters who never value a duty but (as Hudibras ſays, every thing is to be valued) according to the "money it will bring." They may chime in with a popular cry for taxing ſome ſort of luxury, but, if they can, they will take care that the tax ſhall not be ſo high as to amount to an effectual prohibition; conſequently, it becomes a fund: and, when they have got ſuch a tax laid on, they endeavour to propagate the luxury, in order to increaſe the fund. This, I am convinced, will be the caſe of the bill now before us. The exceſſive drinking of gin is become a luxury, chiefly among the neceſſitous part of our people; and, as it is not only vicious in itſelf, but the father of all other vices, it ought to be prohibited, or at leaſt reſtrained, by ſuch a tax as would amount to a prohibition. Inſtead of this, you are to lay ſuch a ſmall tax, that it will not be felt by the conſumer,---and to make that a tax for bringing in a conſiderable revenue to the government. Can you expect, after this, that miniſters, or their under agents, will take any method for repreſſing the vice, or the luxury?--- Will they not give ſecret orders to their tools, the juſtices, to connive at this ſort of wickedneſs?--- And the retailers will certainly propagate it to the utmoſt of

their power. Therefore, when this project was firſt formed, I muſt ſuppoſe, that half a dozen miniſters having aſſembled, and laid their wiſe heads together, they reſolved, that the people of this nation ſhould be drunk for one twelvemonth at leaſt; not only to raiſe a ſum of money for their dark purpoſes, but to prevent the people from being ſenſible of their miſery, or of the heavy burdens intended to be laid upon them and their poſterity."

When the queſtion was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Cheſterfield ſaw the biſhops join in his diviſion, "I am in doubt,"---ſaid he,---"whether I have not got on the other ſide of the queſtion; for I have not had the honour to divide with ſo many lawn-ſleeves for ſeveral years."

In the ſame year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-three, the earl of Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bold and ſpirited ſpeech againſt the contract, by which the Hanoverian troops had been taken into Britiſh pay, without the advice or conſent of parliament. He had indeed reaſon to talk with aſperity of that contract. Levy-money was charged to the account, though the troops were engaged for one year only; and though

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not a ſingle regiment had been raiſed on this occaſion: they had been levied for the ſecurity of the electorate; and would have been maintained, though Britain had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The dependents of the court pleaded the cauſe of Hanover, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a land war againſt France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their ſuggeſtions were anſwered, and their conduct was ſeverely ſtigmatized by the earl of Cheſterfield.

The aſſembling of an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the queen of Hungary, his lordſhip obſerved, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure; that the taking of ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians into Britiſh pay, without conſulting the parliament, ſeemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times; that thoſe troops could not be employed againſt the emperor, whom they had already recognized; that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone were ſufficient to raiſe the houſe of Auſtria to its former ſtrength, dominion, and influence; that the aſſembling of an army in Flan-

ders would engage the nation as principals in an expenſive and ruinous land-war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withſtand in that manner; that while Great Britain exhauſted itſelf almoſt to ruin, in purſuance of ſchemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, and governed by the ſame prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field, at a very exorbitant price; that nothing could be more abſurd and iniquitous than to hire theſe mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under a load of taxes.

" It may be proper,"—added he,--- " to repeat, what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, That this nation, after having exalted the elector of Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity to the throne, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cauſe; to hire men at a rate never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raiſed for this occaſion —If we are now perſuaded to take them into

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our pay for the ſupport of our allies abroad, we may hereafter be perſuaded to bring them over here for the ſupport of our eſtabliſhments at home. Neceſſity will be as ſtrong an argument for that, as it has of late been for keeping up a numerous ſtanding army of our own in time of peace: for they are equally inconſiſtent with our conſtitution; and the diſaffection of our army may hereafter be pleaded with as much ſtrength, and perhaps with as much ſucceſs, for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Hanoverians in the kingdom, as the diſaffection of the people has of late years been pleaded for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Engliſhmen.

"What we are now about, my lords, is the firſt ſtep; and, like a virgin defloured, it is always more eaſy to get a free people to make the ſecond ſtep to ſlavery, than it is to get them to make the firſt. Nay, I am told, my lords, that ſome of the new converts of the other Houſe (for new converts are always zealous) have even moved for a ſecond ſtep; that they have already declared for bringing the Hanoverian guards to England; and it is not impoſſible but it has been ſuggeſted, that a regiment of the Engliſh guards ought to be ſent to Ha-

nover in their ſtead, that at both places his majeſty may appear both as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover."

By the report of the ſecret committee, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four, it appeared, that the then miniſter had commenced proſecutions againſt the mayors of boroughs who oppoſed his influence in the electing of members of parliament. Theſe proſecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magiſtrates. An appeal on ſuch a proceſs was brought into the Houſe of Lords; and, this evil falling under conſideration, a bill was prepared for 'ſecuring the independency of corporations.'

As this bill tended to leſſen the influence of the miniſtry, they exerted all their rhetoric againſt it. The earl of Cheſterfield, always the advocate of the people, and the friend of freedom, ſpoke in favour of it with his uſual eloquence.

"This bill, my lords," ſaid he, "would prevent any corporation, or officer of a corporation, from being expoſed to ſuffer greatly by a neglect, or non-obſervance of ſome of the formalities, or ceremonies, preſcribed by its charter; and, as very few of our corporations become liable to proſecutions upon any other account, it would

would be ſufficient for putting an end to that miniſterial influence over our cities and boroughs, which we have ſo much reaſon at preſent to dread the conſequence of, and which a late famous report has made manifeſt to the whole nation. Corporations have not only been proſecuted, at the expence of the crown, for the neglect of inſignificant formalities, but they have been proſecuted expreſly for refuſing to chuſe ſuch repreſentatives as the miniſter directed.

" A noble lord was pleaſed to call our corporations the creatures of the crown. Too many of them, my lords, are ſo: I am for making them leſs ſo; and therefore am for having this bill paſſed into a law; for, whatever bad conſequences it may be attended with, I am ſure they cannot be ſo bad as the conſequences of our neglecting, or delaying, to make any regulation for guarding againſt, or removing the danger to which we are at preſent expoſed. Many of our boroughs are, indeed, ſo much the creatures of the crown, that they are generally called court boroughs; and they are very properly called ſo: for our miniſters, for the time being, have always the nomination of their repreſentatives, and make ſuch an arbitrary uſe of it, that they of-

order them to chuſe gentlemen they never ſaw, nor heard of perhaps, till they ſaw his name on the miniſter's order for chuſing him as their repreſentative. This order they always punctually obey; and would, I believe, obey it, were the perſon named in it the miniſter's footman, then actually wearing his livery: for they have, we know, choſen men who had but lately thrown the livery off their backs, but never could throw it off their minds."

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four, the commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill denouncing the penalties of high-treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. When the bill was ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, Lord Hardwicke, the then chancellor moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, extending the crime of treaſon to the "poſterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's ſons"

This motion, which was ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the miniſtry, produced a warm debate; in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, the lords Talbot and Harvey, ſpoke againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of

of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common juſtice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of miniſterial power, for which purpoſe it was undoubtedly calculated.

"There are two ſorts of men, my lords," ſaid the earl of Cheſterfield, "that may be guilty of treaſon: men of honour and conſcience; and men of no honour or conſcience, but ſuch as is governed entirely by their unruly and wicked paſſions. As to theſe laſt, can we ſuppoſe, that a man who allows himſelf to be ſo led away by his ambition or revenge, as to involve his native country in blood and confuſion, will be reſtrained by regard to his family, his wife, or his children?---Such men regard nothing but their domineering paſſion, and ſacrifice every thing to its ſatisfaction: therefore the continuance of theſe unjuſt puniſhments can have no effect upon them; and, as to the men of honour and conſcience, they are either mad enthuſiaſts, who are generally governed by ſome wrong principle, or reaſonable, conſiderate men, who are always governed by a right principle. Of the former ſort I reckon the few Jacobites that ſtill re-

main amongſt us. Now, my lords, it is well known, that the ſevereſt, the moſt cruel puniſhments, can have no effect upon enthuſiaſm: they propagate the madneſs inſtead of putting a ſtop to it; and therefore, by this clauſe, we may increaſe, but cannot prevent or diminiſh the danger we have to apprehend from Jacobitiſm.

"As to reaſonable, conſiderate men, my lords, it is certain they will never think of riſing in arms againſt an eſtabliſhed government, but when their duty to their country obliges them, and the nature of our conſtitution makes it lawful for them to do ſo. If any future prince of our preſent royal family ſhould overturn our conſtitution, and ſet up to govern without any parliament, or by means of a packed, corrupt parliament, and a mercenary ſtanding army, it would be the duty of every man in the kingdom to take arms againſt the miniſters that adviſed, and the venal tools that ſupported ſuch meaſures. By the nature of our conſtitution it would, *in foro conſcientiæ*, be lawful to do ſo; and yet, *in foro juridico*, it would be high-treaſon to do ſo. If unſucceſsful, to the greater misfortune of their country than of themſelves, they would, or at leaſt might, all be condemned or attainted as traitors.

traitors. Againſt ſuch men, and for the ſupport of ſuch a government, I ſhall grant, that this clauſe would have a very conſiderable effect: for reaſonable, conſiderate men will always have a great regard for their families, their wives and their children; and, unleſs they have a very high degree of public ſpirit, and even ſomething of an enthuſiaſtic turn, the ruin and miſery which their families, their wives, and children, may be brought to, will be an effectual reſtraint upon their actions, and prevent them from joining with thoſe who may attempt to reſcue their country from ſlavery and arbitrary power. But I leave it to your lordſhips to conſider, whether we ought to provide for any ſuch reſtraint, and what we ought to think of thoſe who adviſe us to do ſo.

"I am ſurpriſed to hear any lord ſay, that the child does not ſuffer, or that the child's right is not taken away by the forfeiture of his father. The poſſeſſor of a fee ſimple has, it is true, by law a power to alienate his eſtate by deed, or to grant it away from his children by will. This muſt be allowed by the laws of ſociety for the ſake of commerce, for the ſake of enabling a man to improve his eſtate, and for the ſake of keeping children in due obedience to their father. But

will

will any one ſay, that a man who ſquanders his eſtate does no injury to his children?— Will any one ſay, that a man who by his will grants away his eſtate from his children, without leaving them a competency, and without any demerit in them, does no injury to his children?— My Lords, with regard to thoſe eſtates that are tranſmitted to us from our anceſtors, it is a manifeſt piece of injuſtice to our children to ſquander them, or grant them away to ſtrangers, unleſs our children have done ſomething to deſerve being diſinherited. Even as to an eſtate acquired by a man's induſtry, he ought not to ſquander it, or to grant it away from innocent children. A man is obliged to provide in the beſt manner he is able for his children: he is worſe than a ſavage that does not provide for his family; and if Providence has bleſſed a man's induſtry, ſo as to enable him to provide for his children, he muſt be ſtill worſe, if he afterwards ſquanders that proviſion, or grants it away to ſtrangers. The child has a natural right to what his father acquires: he has a family right, as well as a natural right, to the eſtate tranſmitted to his father by his anceſtors; and to take that right from him, on account of any crime committed by the

father, is a flagrant piece of injuſtice, let it be done by whom it will, and upon what principle it will. To take the eſtate away from an innocent heir, is in many caſes cruel, as well as unjuſt. It is cruel to take the ſubſiſtence away from an innocent babe at the breaſt;—and to turn both mother and child out of doors, may be the practice of tyrannical arbitrary governments, but ought never to be admitted in a humane government or free country.

"To pretend, my lords, that theſe forfeitures are neceſſary for preſerving the ſociety from rebellions and inſurrections, and the perſons of our kings and miniſters from conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations, is an argument, if we once exceed the bounds of juſtice and humanity, that can admit of no limitation. For the ſame reaſon it may be ſaid to be neceſſary, to put a traitor's children to death before his face: it may be ſaid to be neceſſary, to put all his friends and relations to death; and to find out the perſon moſt dear to him, perhaps his wife, in order to have her put to death before his eyes. In ſhort, the ſame argument may be made uſe of for the moſt exquiſite tortures, and for all thoſe cruel puniſhments that are now in

in uſe among the tyrannical governments in Aſia and Africa.

" Thus your lordſhips muſt ſee, how far you may be led, if you once admit, that, for the peace of ſociety and preſervation of government, puniſhments may be inflicted that are both cruel and unjuſt. I therefore hope, my lords, you will ſpare a thought for your children, your families, and poſterity. They have not only eſtates, but honours and dignities to loſe. I hope the reverend bench, though their honours are not hereditary, will ſhew a concern for thoſe that are. I hope the lords from Scotland will conſider, how many noble families of their country have been lately deſtroyed by this maxim of puniſhing children for the father's crime. The guilty deſerved to ſuffer; but it is hard to make the innocent partake in their puniſhment.

" I know, my lords, that in felonies the goods and chattels are forfeited, as well as the lands, goods and chattels in treaſon. I approve of the one as little as I do of the other: but felons have generally nothing to forfeit. By ſuch a forfeiture it ſeldom happens once in a century, that the value of a thouſand pounds becomes forfeited; and, in felony, there is no ſuch danger of the priſoner being unjuſtly

juſtly convicted, as in treaſon, where miniſters generally intereſt themſelves to have the priſoner condemned. Beſides, my lords, as forfeitures for treaſon become generally the prey of miniſters and favourites, and are often of great value, they may be the cauſe of many an innocent man being convicted, condemned, and executed, for no other reaſon but becauſe he has a fine eſtate; or, as it was once expreſſed, becauſe he would be "a *bonny* traitor." Such expedients for raiſing money, we know, were frequent under the tyrannical emperors of Rome, who had a band of well-diſciplined *delatores* for that very purpoſe; and, in time, our informers may be as numerous, and as well diſciplined as thoſe *delatores*: for, when a bad cuſtom has once taken root, no one can imagine how faſt it grows; how far it ſpreads its baneful branches.

"I muſt further obſerve, my lords, that theſe forfeitures are ſo far from preventing, that they may be the cauſe of a rebellion. If needy and daring counſellors ſhould get the government of a weak prince, they may adviſe him to arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures, with a view to provoke a rebellion, that they may have a chance of enriching themſelves

ſelves out of the ſpoils of the rebels. The king, indeed, by ſuch meaſures, might riſk, or loſe his crown; but, as ſuch miniſters have little to loſe, and a great deal to gain, they would give themſelves very little trouble about the riſk their ſovereign might run, if they thought they had but a tolerable chance of victory; and that an eſtabliſhed government can ſcarcely be without.

"The ſecurity of this government, my lords, and the tranquillity of this nation, depends not upon frightening either the diſaffected or diſſatisfied from riſing in arms, by the ſeverity of puniſhment: it depends, my lords, and I hope will always depend, upon the ſmallneſs of their number. Upon this our tranquillity will always depend, and ſecurely depend, as long as our liberties are preſerved entire; and, if they ſhould ever come to be encroached on, I am ſure it is neither the buſineſs nor the duty of parliament, to endeavour to frighten men from taking arms in defence of the liberties of their country."

Theſe ſpeeches, I hope, will be deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the earl of Cheſterfield's reputation as a ſtateſman, an orator, and a patriot, while they ſerve as models of ſenatorial eloquence to our young nobility.

bility. I ſhall therefore return to his lordſhip's private character, and private life.

CHAP. IV.

His Lordſhip's Conduct in private Life, with the firſt Part of the Syſtem of Education delivered in a Series of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Obſervations.

THE earl of Cheſterfield's attention to the intereſts of his country did not divert him from the duties of private life; nor even from its pleaſures. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-three, he married the Lady Meloſinah de Schulenberg, counteſs of Walſingham, and natural daughter of King George I. who is ſtill alive. By his lady, however, he had no children: but he had, about a year before his marriage, by Madame du Bouchet, a French lady, a natural ſon, whom he loved and cheriſhed with all the fondneſs of a father, and whoſe education was for many years the chief engagement of his life. After furniſhing him with the moſt valuable treaſures of ancient and modern learning,

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he was deſirous of adding to thoſe acquiſitions, that knowledge of men and things which he himſelf had acquired by long and great experience. With this view he wrote the Letters lately publiſhed, and which have been ſo deſervedly admired. They begin with thoſe dawnings of inſtruction adapted to the capacity of a boy, and riſing gradually by precepts and admonitions, calculated to direct and guard the age of incautious youth, finiſh with the advice and knowledge requiſite to form the man ambitious to ſhine as an accompliſhed courtier, an orator in the ſenate, or a miniſter at foreign courts. In ſhort, he meant to form, what he was himſelf, an all-accompliſhed man; and, as that is profeſſedly the deſign of this work, it cannot ſurely be done more effectually, than by accompanying the example with the precepts of ſuch a maſter.

I ſhall not begin with his lordſhip's earlieſt letters: but I ſhall begin as early as, I think, they can be of any uſe to the readers of this book; and, if any ſhould think I begin too early, they will pleaſe to reflect, that others may think I begin too late.

Having given his ſon a conciſe account of the Heathen gods and goddeſſes, of the Trojan

Trojan war, and the firſt Romans, the earl of Cheſterfield proceeds to what may be properly called *inſtruction*, in contradiſtinction to *information*. Here, therefore, I ſhall begin to form my MAN of the WORLD, leaving the article of information, as his lordſhip did, principally to others. Nor ſhall I ſervilely deliver his lordſhip's precepts, as if they were ſacred: I am ſenſible that no man is infallible: but I ſhall never differ from him without aſſigning a reaſon for ſo doing; and, happily, our ſentiments are pretty much alike: So that the reader will not be troubled with much altercation.

"Hiſtory," ſays his lordſhip, "is an account of whatever has been done by any country in general, or by any number of people, or by any one man: thus, the Roman Hiſtory is an account of what the Romans did, as a nation: the Hiſtory of Catiline's Conſpiracy, is an account of what was done by a particular number of people; and the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great, written by Quintus Curtius, is the account of the life and actions of one ſingle man. Hiſtory is, in ſhort, an account or relation of any thing that has been done.

"Hiſtory is divided into ſacred and prophane, ancient and modern.

"Sacred

" Sacred hiſtory is the Bible, that is, the Old and New Teſtament. The Old Teſtament is the Hiſtory of the Jews, who were God's choſen people; and the New Teſtament is the Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God.

" Prophane hiſtory is the account of the heathen gods, ſuch as you read in Ovid's Metamorphoſes, and which you will know a great deal more of, when you come to read Homer, Virgil, and the other ancient Poets.

" Ancient hiſtory is the account of all the kingdoms and countries of the world, down to the end of the Roman empire.

" Modern hiſtory is the account of the kingdoms and countries of the world, ſince the deſtruction of the Roman empire.

" The perfect knowledge of hiſtory is extremely neceſſary; becauſe, as it informs us of what was done by other people, in former ages, it inſtructs us what to do in the like caſes. Beſides, as it is the common ſubject of converſation, it is a ſhame to be ignorant of it."

How elegantly conciſe!—He proceeds thus:

" Geography muſt neceſſarily accompany hiſtory; for it would not be enough to know what things were done formerly,

but

but we muſt know where they were done; and geography, you know, is the deſcription of the earth, and ſhows us the ſituations of towns, countries, and rivers. For example; geography ſhows you that England is in the North of Europe, that London is the chief town of England, and that it is ſituated upon the river Thames, in the county of Middleſex: and the ſame of other towns and countries. Geography is likewiſe divided into ancient and modern; many countries and towns having, now, very different names from what they had formerly; and many towns, which made a great figure in ancient times, being now utterly deſtroyed, and not exiſting: as the two famous towns of Troy, in Aſia, and Carthage, in Africa; of both which there are not now the leaſt remains."

Having thus diſcuſſed hiſtory and geography, his lordſhip proceeds to chronology.

"Hiſtory," continues he, "muſt be accompanied with chronology, as well as geography, or elſe one has but a very confuſed notion of it; for it is not ſufficient to know what things have been done, which hiſtory teaches us; and where they have been done, which we learn by geography; but one muſt know when they

have been done, and that is the particular buſineſs of chronology. I will therefore give you a general notion of it.

" Chronology fixes the dates of facts; that is, it informs us when ſuch and ſuch things were done; reckoning from certain periods of time, which are called Æras, or Epochs: for example, in Europe, the two principal æras or epochs, by which we reckon, are, from the creation of the world to the birth of Chriſt, which was four thouſand years; and from the birth of Chriſt to this time, which is one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-nine years: ſo that, when one ſpeaks of a thing that was done before the birth of Chriſt, one ſays, it was done in ſuch a year of the world; as, for inſtance, Rome was founded in the three thouſand two hundred and twenty-fifth year of the world; which was about ſeven hundred and fifty years before the birth of Chriſt. And one ſays, that Charlemain was made the firſt emperor of Germany in the year eight hundred; that is to ſay, eight hundred years after the birth of Chriſt. So that you ſee, the two great periods, æras, or epochs, from whence we date every thing, are, the creation of the world, and the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

" There

"There is another term in chronology, called centuries, which is only uſed in reckoning after the birth of Chriſt. A century means one hundred years; conſequently, there have been ſeventeen centuries ſince the birth of Chriſt, and we are now in the eighteenth century. When any body ſays, then, for example, that ſuch a thing was done in the tenth century, they mean, after the year nine hundred, and before the year one thouſand, after the birth of Chriſt. When any body makes a miſtake in Chronology, and ſays, that a thing was done ſome years ſooner, or ſome years later than it really was, that error is called an Anachroniſm."

Having thus explained the meaning and uſe of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, and ſhowed the connection they have with one another; that is, how they are joined together, and depend each upon the other, he returns to conſider hiſtory more particularly by itſelf.

"The moſt ancient hiſtories of all," adds he, "are ſo mixed with fables, that is, with falſehoods and invention, that little credit is to be given to them. All the Heathen gods and goddeſſes, that you read of in the poets, were only men and women; but, as they had either found out ſome uſeful invention, or had done a

great deal of good in the countries where they lived, the people, who had a great veneration for them, made them gods and goddeſſes when they died, addreſſed their prayers, and raiſed altars to them. Thus Bacchus, the god of wine, was only the firſt man who invented the making of wine; which pleaſed the people ſo much, that they made a God of him: and may be they were drunk when they made him ſo. So Ceres, the goddeſs of plenty, who is always repreſented, in pictures, with wheat-ſheaves about her head, was only ſome good woman, who invented ploughing, and ſowing, and raiſing corn: and the people, who owed their bread to her, deified her; that is, made a goddeſs of her. The caſe is the ſame of all the other Pagan gods and goddeſſes, which you read of in prophane and fabulous hiſtory.

"The authentic, that is, the true ancient hiſtory, is divided into five remarkable periods or æras, of the five great empires of the world. The firſt empire of the world was the Aſſyrian, which was deſtroyed by the Medes. The empire of the Medes was overturned by the Perſians; and the empire of the Perſians was demoliſhed by the Macedonians, under Alexander the Great. The empire of Alexander the Great laſted no longer than his

his life; for at his death, his generals divided the world among them, and went to war with one another; till, at laſt, the Roman empire aroſe, ſwallowed them all up, and Rome became the miſtreſs of the world. Remember, then, that the five great empires, that ſucceeded each other were theſe:

1. The Aſſyrian empire, firſt eſtabliſhed.
2. The empire of the Medes.
3. The Perſian empire.
4. The Macedonian empire.
5. The Roman empire."

His lordſhip next returns to a more particular conſideration of chronology.

"Chronology," obſerves he, "is the art of meaſuring and diſtinguiſhing time, or the doctrine of epochas, which, you know, are particular and remarkable periods of time. The word chronology is compounded of the Greek words χρονος, which ſignifies *time*, and λογος, which ſignifies *diſcourſe*. Chronology and geography are called the two eyes of hiſtory, becauſe hiſtory can never be clear and well underſtood without them. Hiſtory relates facts; chronology tells us at what time, or when, thoſe facts were done; and geography ſhows us in what place or country they were done. The Greeks

meaſured their time by Olympiads, which was a ſpace of four years, called in Greek Ολυμπιας. This method of computation had its riſe from the Olympic games, which were celebrated the beginning of every fifth year, on the banks of the river Alpheus, near Olympia, a city in Greece. The Greeks, for example, would ſay, that ſuch a thing happened in ſuch a year of ſuch an Olympiad: as for inſtance; that Alexander the Great died in the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad. The firſt Olympiad was 774 years before Chriſt; ſo, conſequently, Chriſt was born in the firſt year of the 195th Olympiad.

" The period, or æra, from whence the Romans reckoned their time, was from the building of Rome; which they marked thus, *ab U. C.* that is, *ab Urbe Conditâ.* Thus, the kings were expelled, and the conſular government eſtabliſhed, the 244th *ab U. C.* that is, of Rome.

" All Europe now reckons from the great epocha of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, which was 1738 years ago; ſo that, when any body aſks, in what year did ſuch or ſuch a thing happen, they mean in what year ſince the birth of Chriſt.

" For example; Charlemain, in French Charlemagne, was made emperor of the Weſt in the year 800; that is, 800 years after

after the birth of Chriſt; but, if we ſpeak of any event or hiſtorical fact that happened before that time, we then ſay, it happened ſo many years before Chriſt. For inſtance; we ſay Rome was built 750 years before Chriſt.

"The Turks date from their Hegira, which was the year of the flight of their falſe prophet, Mahomet, from Mecca; and, as we ſay that ſuch a thing was done in ſuch a year of Chriſt; they ſay, ſuch a thing was done in ſuch a year of the Hegira. Their Hegira begins in the 622d year of Chriſt, that is, above 1100 years ago.

"There are two great periods in chronology, from which the nations of Europe date events. The firſt is the creation of the world; the ſecond, the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

"Thoſe events that happened before the birth of Chriſt, are dated from the creation of the world. Thoſe events which have happened ſince the birth of Chriſt, are dated from that time; as the preſent year 1739. For example;

	A. M.
Noah's flood happened in the year of the world	1656
Babylon was built by Semiramis, in the year	1800

	A. M.
Moſes was born in the year	2400
Troy was taken by the Greeks, in the year	2800
Rome founded by Romulus, in the year	3225
Alexander the Great conquered Perſia	3674
Jeſus Chriſt born in the year of the world	4000

" The meaning of *A. M.* at the top of theſe figures, is *anno mundi*, the year of the world.

" From the birth of Chriſt, all Chriſtians date the events that have happened ſince that time; and this is called *the Chriſtian æra*. Sometimes we ſay, that ſuch a thing happened in ſuch a year of Chriſt, and ſometimes we ſay, in ſuch a century. Now, a century is one hundred years from the birth of Chriſt; ſo that at the end of every hundred years a new century begins; and we are, conſequently, now in the eighteenth century.

" For example, as to the Chriſtian æra, or ſince the birth of Chriſt;

Mahomet, the falſe prophet of the Turks, who eſtabliſhed the Mahometan religion, and writ the Alcoran

A. M.

Alcoran, which is the Turkiſh book of religion, died in the ſeventh century; that is, in the year of Chriſt 632

Charlemain was crowned emperor in the laſt year of the eighth century, that is, in the year 800

" Here the old Roman empire ended.

William the Conqueror was crowned king of England in the eleventh century, in the year 1066

The Reformation, that is, the Proteſtant religion, begun by Martin Luther, in the ſixteenth century, in the year 1530

Gunpowder invented, by one Bertholdus, a German monk, in the fourteenth century, in the year 1380

Printing invented, at Haerlem in Holland, or at Straſbourg, or at Mentz in Germany, in the fifteenth century, about the year 1440

After giving his pupil diſtinct ideas of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, the earl of Cheſterfield proceeds to ſpeak of oratory and poetry.

" The buſineſs of oratory,"—obſerves he,—" is to perſuade people; and you

eaſily feel, that to pleaſe people, is a great ſtep towards perſuading them. You muſt then, conſequently, be ſenſible how advantageous it is for a man, who ſpeaks in public, whether it be in parliament, in the pulpit, or at the bar, (that is, in the courts of law) to pleaſe his hearers ſo much as to gain their attention: which he can never do, without the help of oratory. It is not enough to ſpeak the language he ſpeaks in in its utmoſt purity, and according to the rules of grammar; but he muſt ſpeak it elegantly; that is, he muſt chuſe the beſt and moſt expreſſive words, and put them in the beſt order. He ſhould likewiſe adorn what he ſays by proper metaphors, ſimilies, and other figures of rhetoric; and he ſhould enliven it, if he can, by quick and ſprightly turns of wit. For example; ſuppoſe you had a mind to perſuade Mr. Maittaire (the boy's ſchoolmaſter) to give you a holyday, would you bluntly ſay to him, Give me a holyday? That would certainly not be the way to perſuade him to it. But you ſhould endeavour firſt to pleaſe him, and gain his attention, by telling him, that your experience of his goodneſs and indulgence encouraged you to aſk a favour of him; that, if he ſhould not think proper to grant it; at leaſt you hoped,

hoped, he would not take it ill, that you aſked it. Then you ſhould tell him, what it was that you wanted; that it was a holyday; for which you ſhould give your reaſons; as, that you had ſuch or ſuch a thing to do, or ſuch a place to go to. Then, you might urge ſome arguments why he ſhould not refuſe you; as, that you have ſeldom aſked that favour, and that you ſeldom will; and that the mind may ſometimes require a little reſt from labour, as well as the body. This you may illuſtrate by a ſimile, and ſay, that as the bow is the ſtronger, for being ſometimes unſtrung and unbent; ſo the mind will be capable of more attention, for being now and then eaſy and relaxed."

"Though poetry,"—continues he,—"differs much from oratory in many things; yet it makes uſe of the ſame figures of rhetoric; nay it abounds in metaphors, ſimilies, and allegories; and you may learn the purity of the language, and the ornaments of eloquence, as well by reading verſe as proſe. Poetical diction, that is, poetical language, is more ſublime and lofty than proſe, and takes liberties which are not allowed in proſe, and are called Poetical Licences. This difference between verſe and proſe you will eaſily obſerve, if you read them both with at-

tention. In verſe, things are ſeldom ſaid plainly and ſimply, as one would ſay them in proſe; but they are deſcribed and embelliſhed: as for example; what you hear the watchman ſay often in three words, *a cloudy morning*, is ſaid thus in verſe, in the tragedy of Cato:

'The dawn is overcaſt, the morning lowers,
'And heavily in clouds brings on the day.'

This is poetical diction; which would be improper in proſe, though each word ſeparately may be uſed in proſe.

"I will give you, here, a very pretty copy of verſes of Mr. Waller's, which is extremely poetical, and full of images. It is to a lady who played upon the lute. The lute, by the way, is an inſtrument with many ſtrings, which are played upon by the fingers.

'Such moving ſounds from ſuch a careleſs touch,
'So little ſhe concern'd, and we ſo much.
'The trembling ſtrings about her fingers croud,
'And tell their joy, for every kiſs, aloud.
'Small force there needs to make them tremble ſo,
'Touch'd by that hand, who would not tremble too?
'Here Love takes ſtand, and while ſhe charms the ear,
'Empties his quiver on the liſt'ning deer.
'Muſic ſo ſoftens and diſarms the mind,
'That not one arrow can reſiſtance find.
'Thus the fair tyrant celebrates the prize,
'And acts herſelf the triumph of her eyes.
'So Nero once, with harp in hand, ſurvey'd
'His flaming Rome: and as it burnt, he play'd.'

"Mind

" Mind all the poetical beauties of theſe verſes. He ſuppoſes the ſounds of the ſtrings, when ſhe touches them, to be the expreſſion of their joy for kiſſing her fingers. Then, he compares the trembling of the ſtrings to the trembling of a lover, who is ſuppoſed to tremble with joy and awe, when touched by the perſon he loves. He repreſents love (who, you know, is deſcribed as a little boy, with a bow, arrows, and a quiver) as ſtanding by her, and ſhooting his arrows at people's hearts, while her muſic ſoftens and diſarms them. Then he concludes with that fine ſimile of Nero, a very cruel Roman emperor, who ſet Rome on fire, and played on the harp all the while it was burning: for, as love is repreſented by the Poets as fire and flames; ſo ſhe, while people were burning for love of her, played, as Nero did while Rome, which he had ſet on fire, was burning.

" You will obſerve, that theſe verſes are all long, or heroic verſes, that is, of ten ſyllables, or five feet; for a foot is two ſyllables." [His lordſhip is here miſtaken; for a foot, even in Engliſh verſe, often conſiſts of three ſyllables.]

Having already given a general idea of oratory and poetry, his Lordſhip proceeds

to a more particular conſideration of poetry; in which he appears to have been very fond that his ſon ſhould excell, till he found that the boy's genius did not lie that way. At any rate, it is certainly well calculated to induce an early habit of thinking. "You ſhould begin to conſider," ſays he, "not only the meaſure of the verſes you read, but likewiſe the thoughts of the poet, and the ſimilies, metaphors, and alluſions, which are the ornaments of poetry, and raiſe it above proſe, and diſtinguiſh it from proſe, as much as the meaſure does. This attention to the thoughts and diction of other poets, will ſuggeſt both matter, and the manner of expreſſing it, to you, when you come to invent, yourſelf. Thoughts are the ſame in every language, and a good thought in one language is a good one in every other: thus, if you attend to the thoughts and images in French or Engliſh poetry, they will be of uſe to you, when you compoſe in Latin or Greek. I have met lately with a very pretty copy of Engliſh verſes, which I here ſend you to learn by heart; but firſt, I will give you the thought in proſe, that you may obſerve how it is expreſſed, and adorned by poetical diction.

The

" The poet tells his miſtreſs, Florella, that ſhe is ſo unkind to him, ſhe will not even ſuffer him to look at her; that, to avoid her cruelty, he addreſſes himſelf to other women, who receive him kindly; but that, notwithſtanding this, his heart always returns to her, though ſhe uſes him ſo ill; and then he concludes with this beautiful and apt ſimile, in which he compares his fate to that of exiles (that is, people who are baniſhed from their own country) who, though they are pitied in whatever country they go to, yet long to return to their own, where they are ſure to be uſed ill, and puniſhed.

Why will Florella, when I gaze,
My raviſh'd eyes reprove,
And hide from them the only face,
They can behold with love?

To ſhun her ſcorn, and eaſe my care,
I ſeek a nymph more kind,
And while I rove from fair to fair,
Still gentler uſage find.

But oh! how faint is every joy,
Where Nature has no part!
New beauties may my eyes employ,
But you engage my heart.

So

So reſtleſs exiles, doom'd to roam,
Meet pity every where;
Yet languiſh for their native home,
Though death attends them there.

The Simile.

" You will obſerve that theſe verſes have alternate rhymes; that is, the third line rhymes to the firſt, and the fourth line to the ſecond; the firſt and third lines having four feet each, and the ſecond and fourth having but three feet each."

He continues his obſervations on poetry thus:

" Poets have greater liberties allowed them than proſe writers, which is called the *poet cal licence.* Horace ſays, that poets and painters have an equal privilege of attempting any thing. *Pictoribus atque Poetis, quidlibet audendi, ſemper fuit æqua potèſtas.* Fiction, that is, invention, is ſaid to be the ſoul of poetry. For example; the poets give life to ſeveral inanimate things; that is, to things that have no life: as for inſtance; they repreſent the paſſions, as love, fury, envy, *&c.* under human figures; which figures are allegorical; that is, repreſent the qualities and effects of thoſe paſſions. Thus the poets repreſent love as a little boy, called Cupid, becauſe love is the paſſion of young people chiefly. He is repreſented blind

blind likewiſe; becauſe love makes no diſtinction, and takes away the judgment. He has a bow and arrows, with which he is ſuppoſed to wound people, becauſe love gives pain: and he has a pair of wings to fly with; becauſe love is changeable, and apt to fly from one object to another. Fury likewiſe is repreſented under the figures of three women, called the three furies; Alecto, Megæra, and Tiſiphone. They are deſcribed with lighted torches or flambeaux in their hands; becauſe rage and fury is for ſetting fire to every thing: they are likewiſe drawn, with ſerpents hiſſing about their heads; becauſe ſerpents are poiſonous and deſtructive animals. Envy is deſcribed as a woman, melancholy, pale, livid, and pining; becauſe envious people are never pleaſed, but always repining at other people's happineſs: ſhe is ſuppoſed to feed upon ſerpents; becauſe envious people only comfort themſelves with the misfortunes of others."

He next defines taſte, and exemplifies it, as connected with invention or genius, in elegant deſcription:

"Taſte, in its proper ſignification," ſays he, "means the taſte of the palate in eating or drinking; but it is metaphorically uſed for the judgment one forms

forms of any art or ſcience. For example; if I ſay ſuch a man has a good taſte in poetry, I mean that he judges well of poetry, and diſtinguiſhes rightly what is good and what is bad; and finds out equally the beauties and the faults of the compoſition. Or if I ſay, that ſuch a man has a good taſte in painting, I mean the ſame thing; which is, that he is a good judge of pictures; and will diſtinguiſh not only good ones from bad ones, but very good ones from others not quite ſo good, but yet good ones. *Avoir le goût bon*, means the ſame thing in French: and nothing forms ſo true a taſte, as the reading the ancient authors with attention."

"Deſcription is a beautiful part of poetry, and much uſed by the beſt poets; it is likewiſe called painting, becauſe it repreſents things in ſo lively and ſtrong a manner, that we think we ſee them as in a picture. Thus Ovid deſcribes the palace of the ſun, or Apollo.

Regia Solis erat ſublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flammaſque imitante pyropo.
Cujus ebur nitidum faſtigia ſumma tenebat:
Argenti biſores radiabant lumine valvæ,
Materiem ſuperabat opus: nam Mulciber illic
Æquora cælarat medias cingentia terras,
Terrarumque orbem, cœlumque quod imminet orbi.

After-

" Afterwards he deſcribes Phœbus himſelf, ſitting upon his throne.

——————— Purpureâ velatus veſte ſedebat
In Solio Phœbus, claris lucente ſmaragdis.
A dextrâ lævâque Dies, et Menſis, et Annus,
Sæculaque et poſitæ ſpatiis æqualibus Horæ;
Verque novum ſtabat, cinctum florente coronâ,
Stabat nuda Æſtas, et ſpicea ſerta gerebat,
Stabat et Autumnus calcatis ſordidus uvis,
Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirſuta capillos.

" Obſerve the invention in this deſcription. As the ſun is the great rule by which we meaſure time; and as it marks out the years, the months, the days, and the ſeaſons; ſo Ovid has repreſented Phœbus upon his throne, as the principal figure, attended by the years, days, months, and ſeaſons, which he likewiſe repreſents as ſo many perſons. This is properly invention, and invention is the ſoul of poetry. Poets have their name, upon that account, from the Greek word Ποιεω, which ſignifies, to make, or invent.

" I mentioned, in my laſt," continues he, " deſcription, or painting, as one of the ſhining marks or characteriſtics of poetry. The likeneſs muſt be ſtrong and lively; and make us almoſt think, that we ſee the thing before our eyes. Thus the following deſcription of hunger, or famine,

famine, in Ovid, is ſo ſtriking, that one thinks one ſees ſome poor famiſhed wretch.

——— *Famem* lapidoſo *vidit in agro,*
Unguibus et raras *vellentem dentibus herbas.*
Hirtus *erat crinis,* cava *lumina, pallor in ore,*
Labra incana *ſitu,* ſcabræ *rubigine fauces,*
Dura *cutis, per quam ſpectari viſcera poſſent:*
Oſſa ſub incurvis *extabant* arida *lumbis:*
Ventris erat pro ventre locus: pendere putares
Pectus, et a ſpinæ tantummodo crate teneri.

Obſerve the propriety and ſignificancy of the epithets. *Lapidoſo* is the epithet to *agro*; becauſe a ſtony ground produces very little graſs. *Raras* is the epithet to *herbas*, to mark how few and how ſcarce the herbs were, that famine was tearing with her teeth and nails. You will eaſily find out the other epithets.

" I will now give you an excellent piece of painting, or deſcription, in Engliſh verſe; it is in the tragedy of Phædra and Hippolytus.

So when *bright* Venus yielded up her charms,
The *bluſt* Adonis languiſh'd in her arms.
His *idle* horn on *fragrant* myrtles hung;
His arrows *ſcattered*, and his bow *unſtrung.*
Obſcure, in coverts, lie his *dreaming* hounds,
And bay the *fancied* boar with feeble ſounds.
For nobler ſports he quits the *ſavage* fields,
And all the hero to the lover yields.

" I have marked the epithets, that you may the better obſerve them. Venus is called

called *bright*, upon account of her beauty: Adonis is called *bleſt*, becauſe Venus was in love with him: his horn is ſaid to be *idle*, becauſe he then laid it by, and made no uſe of it: the myrtles are called *fragrant*, becauſe the myrtle is a ſweet-ſmelling tree; moreover, the myrtle is the particular tree ſacred to Venus: *ſcattered* arrows, becauſe laid by here and there, careleſsly. The bow *unſtrung*: it was the cuſtom to unſtring the bow when they did not uſe it, and it was the ſtronger for it afterwards. *Dreaming* hounds: hounds that are uſed to hunt, often dream they are hunting; as appears by their making the ſame noiſe, only not ſo loud, when they ſleep, as they do when they are hunting ſome wild beaſt; therefore, the ſounds are called *feeble*. *Savage* fields; ſo called from the roughneſs of field ſports, in compariſon to the tenderneſs and ſoftneſs of love.

"But it is not the words only that you ſhould mind," adds he, "but the ſenſe and beauties of the authors you read; which will furniſh you with matter, and teach you to think juſtly upon ſubjects. For example; if you were to ſay, in poetry, that it was morning, you would not barely ſay it was morning; that would not be poetical: but you would

would repreſent the morning under ſome image, or by deſcription; as thus:

Lo! from the *roſy* eaſt, her *purple* doors
The morn unfolds, adorn'd with *bluſhing* flowers;
The *leſſen'd* ſtars draw off and diſappear,
Whoſe *bright* battalions, laſtly, Lucifer
Brings up, and quits his ſtation in the rear.

Obſerve, that the day always riſes in the eaſt; and therefore it is ſaid, from the roſy eaſt: *roſy* is the epithet to eaſt; becauſe the break of day, or the Aurora, is of a reddiſh roſy colour. Obſerve too, that Luciſer is the name of that ſtar that diſappears the laſt in the morning; for the aſtronomers have given names to moſt of the ſtars. The three laſt lines, which have the ſame rhymes, are called a triplet, which is always marked as I have marked it. The original Latin is thus in Ovid.

——————Ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu
Purpureas Aurora fores, et plena roſarum
Atria. Diffugiunt ſtellæ, quarum agmina cogit
Lucifer, et cæli ſtatione noviſſimus exit.

Here is another way of ſaying that it is morning, as Virgil expreſſes it:

Et jam prima novo ſpargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile:
Jam ſole infuſo, jam rebus luce retectis.

Thus in Engliſh verſe:

And now Aurora, harbinger of day,
Roſe from the *ſaffron* bed where Tithon lay,
And ſprinkled o'er the world with *new-born* light:
The ſun now ſhining, all things brought to ſight.

"Tithon was the huſband of Aurora. Aurora, in poetical language, means the break of day, or the firſt part of the morning. Harbinger (by the way) means forerunner, or a perſon who is ſent beforehand, by another, upon a journey, to prepare things for him. The King has ſeveral harbingers, that go before him upon the road, to prepare his lodging, and get every thing ready. So Aurora, or the morning, is called, by a metaphor, the harbinger of day, becauſe it foreruns the day."

A happier method was perhaps never deviſed for forming the mind of youth. He proſecutes his ſubject thus:

"The noon, or mid-day, that is twelve o'clock, is thus deſcribed by Ovid:

Fecerat exiguas jam Sol altiſſimus umbras.

And in another place,

Jamque dies rerum medias contraxerat umbras,
Et Sol ex æquo, metâ diſtabat utrâque:

Becauſe the ſun, at noon, is exactly in the middle of its courſe, and, being then juſt perpendicular over our heads, makes the ſhadows very ſhort; whereas, when the ſun ſhines on either ſide of us, (as it does mornings and evenings) the ſhadows are very long; which you may obſerve any

ſun-

ſun ſhiny day that you pleaſe. The evening is deſcribed thus, by Ovid:

Jam labor exiguus Phœbo reſtabat: equique
Pulſabant pedibus ſpatium declivis Olympi:

Becauſe the courſe of the ſun, being ſuppoſed to be of one day, Phœbus (that is the ſun) is here ſaid to have little more remaining buſineſs to do; and his horſes are repreſented as going down hill; which points out the evening; the ſun, in the evening, ſeeming to go downwards. In another place he ſays,

Jamque dies exactus erat, tempuſque ſubibat,
Quod tu nec tenebras, nec poſſis dicere lucem:

For, in the duſk of the evening, one can neither call it day nor night.

Night is deſcribed by Virgil in this manner:

Nox erat, et terras animalia fuſa per omnes;
Alituum, Pecudumque genus, ſopor altus habebat.

"What I mean, by ſending and explaining theſe things to you, (as I have ſaid before) is to uſe you to think and reflect a little yourſelf; and not to repeat words only, like a parrot, without minding or knowing the ſenſe and import of them. For example; when you read a deſcription of any thing, compare it with your own obſervations; and aſk yourſelf this queſtion, Is this ſo? Have I ever obſerved it before? And, if you have

not

not obſerved it, take the firſt opportunity you can of doing it. For inſtance; if you have not already obſerved, that the ſhadows are long in the morning and the evening, and ſhort at noon, try it yourſelf, and ſee whether it is true or not. When you hear of the *roſy morn*, conſider with yourſelf why it is ſo called, and whether it ought to be called ſo or not; and obſerve the morning early, to ſee if it is not of a reddiſh, roſy colour. When you hear of night's ſpreading its ſable (that is black) wings over the world, conſider whether the gradual ſpreading of the darkneſs does not extend itſelf in the ſky like black wings. In ſhort, uſe yourſelf to think and reflect upon every thing you hear and ſee: examine every thing, and ſee whether it is true or not, without taking it upon truſt. For example; if you ſhould find, in any author, *the blue or azure ſun*, would you not immediately reflect, that could not be juſt; for the ſun is always red? and that he who could call it ſo muſt be either blind, or a fool."

Having in this manner taught his pupil to diſtinguiſh the propriety and impropriety of natural things, his lordſhip proceeds to the moral diſtinctions.

"When you read hiſtorical facts," ſays he, "think of them within yourſelf, and compare

compare them with your own notions. For example; when you read of the firſt Scipio, who, when he conquered Spain, took a beautiful Spaniſh princeſs priſoner, who was ſoon to have been married to a prince of that country, and returned her to her lover, not only untouched, but giving her a fortune beſides; are you not ſtruck with the virtue and generoſity of that action? And can you help thinking with yourſelf, how virtuous it was in Scipio, who was a young man, unmarried, and a conqueror, to withſtand the temptation of beauty; and how generous it was to give her a fortune, to make amends for the misfortunes of the war? Another reflection too, that naturally occurs upon it, is, how virtuous actions never fail to be rewarded by the commendation and applauſe of all poſterity: for this happened above eighteen hundred years ago; is ſtill remembered with honour; and will be ſo as long as letters ſubſiſt: not to mention the infinite pleaſure Scipio muſt have felt himſelf, from ſuch a virtuous and heroic action."

To give his ſon and pupil ſtill more diſtinct ideas of natural and moral propriety, and likewiſe to induce a habit of thinking, he propoſes a ſubject of compoſition

poſition of each kind, which he illuſtrates in a moſt ſimple and beautiful manner.

" All you learn, and all you can read," obſerves he, " will be of little uſe, if you do not think and reaſon upon it yourſelf. If night, for example, were given you as a ſubject to compoſe upon, you would do very well to look what the beſt authors have ſaid upon it, in order to help your own invention; but then you muſt think of it afterwards yourſelf, and expreſs it in your own manner, or elſe you would be at beſt but a plagiary. A plagiary is a man who ſteals other people's thoughts, and puts them off for his own. You would find, for example, the following account of night in Virgil:

Nox erat, et placidum carpebant feſſa ſoporem
Corpora per terras; ſylvæque et ſæva quiêrant
Æquora: cum medio volvuntur ſidera lapſu;
Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictæque volucres,
Quæque lacus latè liquidos, quæque aſpera dumis
Rura tenent; ſomno poſitæ ſub nocte ſilenti
Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

" Here you ſee the effects of night; that it brings reſt to men, when they are wearied with the labours of the day; that the ſtars move in their regular courſe; that flocks and birds repoſe themſelves, and enjoy the quiet of the night. This, upon examination, you would find to be all

true; but then, upon conſideration, too, you would find, that it is not all that is to be ſaid upon night: and many more qualities and effects of night would occur to you. As for inſtance; though night is in general the time of quiet and repoſe, yet it is often the time, too, for the commiſſion and ſecurity of crimes; ſuch as robberies, murders, and violations; which generally ſeek the advantage of darkneſs, as favourable for the eſcapes of the guilty. Night, too, though it brings reſt and refreſhment to the innocent and virtuous, brings diſquiet and horror to the guilty. The conſciouſneſs of their crimes torments them, and denies them ſleep and quiet. You might, from theſe reflections, conſider what would be the proper epithets to give to night: as for example; if you were to repreſent night in its moſt pleaſing ſhape, as procuring quiet and refreſhment from labour and toil, you might call it the *friendly* night, the *ſilent* night, the *welcome* night, the *peaceful* night: but if, on the contrary, you were to repreſent it as inviting to the commiſſion of crimes, you would call it, the *guilty* night, the *conſcious* night, the *horrid* night; with many other epithets, that carry along with them the idea of horror and guilt: for an epithet to be proper, muſt always be adapted

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(that is, ſuited) to the circumſtances of the perſon or thing to which it is given." He continues thus:

" Virtue is a ſubject that deſerves your and every man's attention; and ſuppoſe I were to bid you make ſome verſes, or give me your thoughts in proſe, upon the ſubject of virtue, How would you go about it? Why you would firſt conſider what virtue is, and then what are the effects and marks of it, both with regard to others and to one's ſelf. You would find, then, that virtue conſiſts in doing good, and in ſpeaking truth; that the effects of it are advantageous to all mankind, and to one's ſelf in particular. Virtue makes us pity and relieve the misfortunes of mankind; it makes us promote juſtice and good order in ſociety; and, in general, contributes to whatever tends to the real good of mankind. To ourſelves it gives an inward comfort and ſatisfaction, which nothing elſe can do, and which nothing can rob us of. All other advantages depend upon others, as much as upon ourſelves. Riches, power, and greatneſs may be taken away from us, by the violence and injuſtice of others, or by inevitable accidents; but virtue depends only upon ourſelves, and nobody can take it away from us. Sickneſs may deprive us of all the pleaſures of the

body; but it cannot deprive us of our virtue, nor of the ſatisfaction which we feel from it. A virtuous man, under all the misfortunes of life, ſtill finds an inward comfort and ſatisfaction, which makes him happier than any wicked man can be, with all the other advantages of life. If a man has acquired great power and riches by falſehood, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, he cannot enjoy them; becauſe his conſcience will torment him, and conſtantly reproach him with the means by which he got them. The ſtings of his conſcience will not even let him ſleep quietly; but he will dream of his crimes: and in the day-time, when alone, and when he has time to think, he will be uneaſy and melancholy. He is afraid of every thing; for, as he knows mankind muſt hate him, he has reaſon to think they will hurt him, if they can. Whereas, if a virtuous man be ever ſo poor, or unfortunate in the world, ſtill his virtue is its own reward, and will comfort him under all afflictions. The quiet and ſatisfaction of his conſcience make him chearful by day, and ſleep ſound of nights: he can be alone with pleaſure, and is not afraid of his own thoughts. Beſides this, he is univerſally eſteemed and reſpected: for even the moſt wicked people themſelves, cannot

cannot help admiring and reſpecting virtue in others."

Concluding his ſon, as may be ſuppoſed, to have now pretty diſtinct ideas of elegant compoſition, of virtue and of vice, the earl of Cheſterfield proceeds to give him the rudiments of politeneſs.

"Learning, honour, and virtue," obſerves he, "are abſolutely neceſſary to gain you the eſteem and admiration of mankind; politeneſs and good-breeding are equally neceſſary, to make you welcome and agreeable in converſation, and common life. Great talents, ſuch as honour, virtue, learning, and parts, are above the generality of the world; who neither poſſeſs them themſelves, nor judge of them rightly in others: but all people are judges of the leſſer talents, ſuch as civility, affability, and an obliging, agreeable addreſs and manner; becauſe they feel the good effects of them, as making ſociety eaſy and pleaſing.

"Good-ſenſe muſt, in many caſes, determine good-breeding; becauſe, the ſame thing that would be civil at one time, and to one perſon, may be quite otherwiſe at another time, and to another perſon; but there are ſome general rules of good-breeding, that hold always true, and in all caſes. As for example; it is always

extremely rude, to anſwer only yes, or no, to any body, without adding, ſir, my lord, or madam, according to the quality of the perſon you ſpeak to; as, in French, you muſt always ſay *Monſieur*, *Milord*, *Madame*, and *Mademoiſelle*. I ſuppoſe you know that every married woman is, in French, *Madame*, and every unmarried one is *Mademoiſelle*. It is likewiſe extremely rude, not to give the proper attention, and a civil anſwer, when people ſpeak to you; or to go away, or be doing ſomething elſe, while they are ſpeaking to you; for that convinces them that you deſpiſe them, and do not think it worth your while to hear or anſwer what they ſay.

" I dare ſay I need not tell you how rude it is, to take the beſt place in a room, or to ſeize immediately upon what you like at table, without offering firſt to help others; as if you conſidered nobody but yourſelf. On the contrary, you ſhould always endeavour to procure all the conveniencies you can, to the people you are with.

" Beſides being civil, which is abſolutely neceſſary, the perfection of good-breeding is, to be civil with eaſe, and in a gentleman-like manner. For this, you ſhould obſerve the French people; who excell in it, and whoſe politeneſs ſeems

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as eaſy and natural as any other part of their converſation. Whereas the Engliſh are often awkward in their civilities, and when they mean to be civil, are too much aſhamed to get it out. But, pray, do you remember never to be aſhamed of doing what is right: you would have a great deal of reaſon to be aſhamed, if you were not civil; but what reaſon can you have to be aſhamed of being civil? And why not ſay a civil and an obliging thing, as eaſy and as naturally, as you would aſk what o'clock it is? This kind of baſhfulneſs, which is juſtly called, by the French, *mauvaiſe honte*, is the diſtinguiſhing character of an Engliſh booby; who is frightened out of his wits, when people of faſhion ſpeak to him; and, when he is to anſwer them, bluſhes, ſtammers, can hardly get out what he would ſay; and becomes really ridiculous, from a groundleſs fear of being laughed at: whereas a real well-bred man would ſpeak to all the kings in the world, with as little concern, and as much eaſe, as he would ſpeak to you.

"Remember, then, that to be civil, and to be civil with eaſe (which is properly called good-breeding) is the only way to be beloved, and well received in company; that to be ill-bred, and rude,

is intolerable, and the way to be kicked out of company; and that to be baſhful, is to be ridiculous."

It would be in vain here to obſerve, that, as the earl of Cheſterfield was one of the greateſt maſters of politeneſs that ever lived, his precepts are the moſt excellent ever publiſhed on that ſubject; but I cannot help obſerving, that he ſeems rather to place too much ſtreſs upon external accompliſhments. He continues thus:

"I have often told you (and it is moſt certainly true) that the ſtricteſt and moſt ſcrupulous honour, and virtue, can alone make you eſteemed and valued by mankind; that parts and learning can alone make you admired and celebrated by them; but that the poſſeſſion of leſſer talents was moſt abſolutely neceſſary, towards making you liked, beloved, and ſought after in private life. Of theſe leſſer talents, good-breeding is the principal and moſt neceſſary one, not only as it is very important in itſelf; but as it adds great luſtre to the more ſolid advantages both of the heart and the mind.

"I have touched upon good-breeding to you before; ſo that this letter ſhall be upon the next neceſſary qualification to it, which is a genteel, eaſy manner, and carriage, wholly free from thoſe odd tricks,

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ill habits, and awkwardneſſes, which even many very worthy and ſenſible people have in their behaviour. However trifling a genteel manner may ſound, it is of very great conſequence towards pleaſing in private life, eſpecially the women; which, one time or other, you will think worth pleaſing: and I have known many a man, from his awkwardneſs, give people ſuch a diſlike of him at firſt, that all his merit cou'd not get the better of it afterwards. Whereas a genteel manner prepoſſeſſes people in your favour, bends them towards you, and makes them wiſh to like you.

"Awkwardneſs can proceed but from two cauſes; either from not having kept good company, or from not having attended to it. As for your keeping good company, I will take care of that; do you take care to obſerve their ways and manners, and to form your own upon them. Attention is abſolutely neceſſary for this, as indeed it is for every thing elſe; and a man without attention is not fit to live in the world.

"When an awkward fellow firſt comes into a room, it is highly probable, that his ſword gets between his legs, and throws him down, or makes him ſtumble, at leaſt; when he has recovered this accident, he goes and places himſelf in the

very place of the whole room where he ſhould not; there he ſoon lets his hat fall down, and, in taking it up again, throws down his cane; in recovering his cane, his hat falls a ſecond time; ſo that he is a quarter of an hour before he is in order again. If he drinks tea or coffee, he certainly ſcalds his mouth, and lets either the cup or the ſaucer fall, and ſpills the tea or coffee in his breeches. At dinner, his awkwardneſs diſtinguiſhes itſelf particularly, as he has more to do: there he holds his knife, fork, and ſpoon, differently from other people; eats with his knife to the great danger of his mouth, picks his teeth with his fork, and puts his ſpoon, which has been in his throat twenty times, into the diſhes again. If he is to carve, he can never hit the joint; but, in his vain efforts to cut through the bone, ſcatters the ſauce in every body's face. He generally daubs himſelf with ſoup and greaſe, though his napkin is commonly ſtuck through a button hole, and tickles his chin. When he drinks, he infallibly coughs in his glaſs, and beſprinkles the company. Beſides all this, he has ſtrange tricks and geſtures; ſuch as ſnuffing up his noſe, making faces, putting his fingers in his noſe, or blowing it and looking afterwards in his handkerchief,

chief, ſo as to make the company ſick. His hands are troubleſome to him, when he has not ſomething in them, and he does not know where to put them; but they are in perpetual motion between his boſom and his breeches: he does not wear his clothes, and, in ſhort, does nothing like other people. All this, I own, is not in any degree criminal; but it is highly diſagreeable and ridiculous in company, and ought moſt carefully to be avoided, by whoever deſires to pleaſe.

"From this account of what you ſhould not do, you may eaſily judge what you ſhould do; and a due attention to the manners of people of faſhion, and who have ſeen the world, will make it habitual and familiar to you.

"There is, likewiſe, an awkwardneſs of expreſſion and words, moſt carefully to be avoided; ſuch as falſe Engliſh, bad pronunciation, old ſayings, and common proverbs; which are ſo many proofs of having kept bad and low company. For example; if, inſtead of ſaying that 'taſtes are different, and that every man has his own peculiar one,' you ſhould let off a proverb, and ſay, that 'what is one man's meat is another man's poiſon;' or elſe, 'every one as they like, as the good man ſaid when he kiſſed his cow;' every body

would be perſuaded that you had never kept company with any body above footmen and houſemaids.

" Attention will do all this; and without attention nothing is to be done: want of attention, which is really want of thought, is either folly or madneſs. You ſhould not only have attention to every thing, but a quickneſs of attention, ſo as to obſerve, at once, all the people in the room; their motions, their looks, and their words; and yet without ſtaring at them, and ſeeming to be an obſerver. This quick and unobſerved obſervation is of infinite advantage in life, and is to be acquired with care; and, on the contrary, what is called abſence, which is a thoughtleſſneſs, and want of attention about what is doing, makes a man ſo like either a fool or a madman, that, for my part, I ſee no real difference. A fool never has thought; a madman has loſt it; and an abſent man is, for the time, without it.

" I warned you, in my laſt," adds he, " againſt thoſe diſagreeable tricks and awkwardneſſes, which many people contract when they are young, by the negligence of their parents, and cannot get quit of them when they are old; ſuch as odd motions, ſtrange poſtures, and un-

genteel carriage. But there is likewiſe an awkwardneſs of the mind, that ought to be, and with care may be, avoided: as for inſtance; to miſtake or forget names; to ſpeak of Mr. What-d'ye-call-him, or Mrs. Thingum, or How-d'ye-call-her, is exceſſively awkward and ordinary. To call people by improper titles and appellations is ſo too; as my Lord, for Sir; and Sir, for my Lord. To begin a ſtory or narration, when you are not perfect in it, and cannot go through with it; but are forced, poſſibly, to ſay, in the middle of it, "I have forgot the reſt," is very unpleaſant and bungling. One muſt be extremely exact, clear, and perſpicuous in every thing one ſays, otherwiſe, inſtead of entertaining or informing others, one only tires and puzzles them.

"The voice and manner of ſpeaking, too, are not to be neglected: ſome people almoſt ſhut their mouths when they ſpeak, and mutter ſo, that they are not to be underſtood; others ſpeak ſo faſt, and ſputter, that they are not to be underſtood neither; ſome always ſpeak as loud as if they were talking to deaf people; and others ſo low that one cannot hear them. All theſe habits are awkward and diſagreeable, and are to be avoided by attention: they are the diſtinguiſhing marks of

of the ordinary people, who have had no care taken of their education.

" You cannot imagine how neceſſary it is to mind all theſe little things; for I have ſeen many people, with great talents, ill received, for want of having theſe talents too; and others well received, only from their little talents, and who had no great ones. It is good-breeding alone that can prepoſſeſs people in your favour at firſt ſight: more time being neceſſary to diſcover greater talents. This good-breeding, you know, does not conſiſt in low bows and formal ceremony; but in an eaſy, civil, and reſpectful behaviour. I hardly know any thing ſo difficult to attain, or ſo neceſſary to poſſeſs, as perfect good-breeding; which is equally inconſiſtent with a ſtiff formality, an impertinent forwardneſs, and an awkward baſhfulneſs. A little ceremony is often neceſſary; a certain degree of firmneſs is abſolutely ſo; and an outward modeſty is extremely becoming: the knowledge of the world, and your own obſervations, muſt, and alone can, tell you the proper quantities of each."

I ſhall here conclude what I have taken the liberty to call the *firſt part* of the ſyſtem of Education, and proceed with his lordſhip's life.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

His Lordſhip's Conduct as Envoy at the Hague, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Secretary of State, with his continued Attention to the Education of his Son.

THE uniformity of the earl of Cheſterfield's conduct, in oppoſing the meaſures of the court, under different adminiſtrations, in which he might certainly have had a ſhare, had now put his motives beyond diſpute. The king, as well as the people, was convinced, that his oppoſition proceeded from principle; from a belief that ſuch meaſures were wrong: his majeſty was therefore pleaſed to appoint him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the third day of January, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five. In the ſame month he was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General, and ſet out immediately for the Hague.

The purpoſe of this embaſſy was, to prevail on the Dutch to engage more heartily in the war; as appears by the credential letter with which his lordſhip was charged by his Britannic majeſty to the States General, of which the following is a copy.

"*High*

" *High and mighty Lords, our good Friends, Allies, and Confederates,*

" AT a time when the common enemy is doing its utmoſt endeavours to advance the fatal projects of an unbounded ambition, by overturning the balance of power in Europe, and by endeavouring to impoſe an intire and inſupportable dependence both to your republic and our crown; we have thought proper to give you a freſh and diſtinguiſhing proof of our affection, by ſending to you, as our Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, our moſt faithful and well-beloved couſin and counſellor, Philip Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Lieutenant of our kingdom of Ireland. After having fully acquainted him with our ſentiments, we charged him to regulate every thing with you that may be neceſſary for the ſupport of our mutual intereſt. We have alſo authorized him, to conſult both with the miniſters and generals of your ſtate, and with thoſe of the other allies, about what is neceſſary to be done, in order to obtain, as ſoon as poſſible, a good and ſolid peace, by carrying on the war with vigour.

" We therefore hope, that you will receive our ſaid ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary with cordiality and diſtinction,

diſtinction, and that he will find you diſpoſed to ſecond our intentions, full of love and confidence for your republic, by uniting your forces and your intereſts, without reſerve, to ours, by an intire and unlimited accompliſhment of the treaties which link you inſeparably with us; deſiring you, as to the reſt, to lend a favourable ear to our ſaid ambaſſador, and give entire credit to every thing he ſhall repreſent to you on our part.

" We repeat to you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a friendſhip, eſteem, and affection, which will never ceaſe; and we pray God to keep you, High and mighty Lords, our good friends, allies, and confederates, under his holy protection.—— Given at our court, at St. James's, January the ninth, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, and the eighteenth year of our reign.

" Your very good friend,

" GEORGE R."

How faithfully the earl of Cheſterfield executed his charge, will appear by the following elegant and public-ſpirited Memorial, which he delivered to the deputies of the States General (the eighteenth day of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and

and forty five) on taking leave of their High Mightineſſes.

" *High and mighty Lords,*

" The king my maſter, in permitting me to return to England, has given me expreſs orders to renew to your high mightineſſes the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his eſteem and friendſhip.

" It is happy for me, that ſo honourable a commiſſion lays ſo eaſy a duty on me.

" As a faithful interpreter of the ſentiments of a ſincere friendſhip, I ſhall beware of borrowing the flattering expreſſions which a feigned friendſhip wants to ſet itſelf off with.

" Let crafty policy employ the moſt ſeducing artifices to cover its ambitious deſigns; let it put every ſpring in motion to deceive your confidence, or at leaſt lull you into fatal ſecurity: true friendſhip, ſuch as that which unites the king my maſter with your High Mightineſſes, deſpiſes thoſe artifices, and abhors thoſe indirect means; it is ſimple, and its language is the ſame.

" The cloſe union of the two nations is neither the effect of ſome tranſient views, nor the fruit of accidental conjectures, but a right

conſequence of our reciprocal and invariable intereſts. Nature pointed it out to us, in placing us as ſhe has done; and the uninterrupted experience of almoſt a century, does not permit us to be ignorant that our mutual proſperity depends on our union. This truth is ſo indiſputable, that we ought to look upon as our common enemies, all thoſe who preſume to call it in queſtion.

" Vicinity is to moſt nations nothing elſe but a fatal ſource of jealouſy and diſcord; whereas we have the ſingular happineſs of being neighbours in a manner fit to procure us infinite advantages, without a poſſibility of any diſtruſt or umbrage ariſing therefrom, if we do not forget our grand intereſts.

" Such are the king's notions; and, by what I have obſerved myſelf, I ſhall dare to aſſure him, that your High Mightineſſes are in the ſame way of thinking. Who can be ignorant of it?—Our allies know it; our enemies feel it. Europe has already often reaped the precious fruits of our harmony: what ought it not yet to expect from it?

" The love of liberty, which founded this republic, and has ſince ſo often ſignalized her; this ſo noble and generous

love,

love; ſtill unites your ſtrength and your councils to thoſe of the king my maſter. Actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and aiming at the ſame end, the ſole object of your efforts is to reſtore and ſecure the public liberty and tranquillity. What deſign more laudable!—What work more worthy of a great and magnanimous zeal!—Purſue, High and Mighty Lords, this deſign with your wonted ſteadineſs and wiſdom; continue thoſe efforts, without ſuffering yourſelves to be diſcouraged: and may Heaven crown your enterprizes with the ſucceſs they deſerve!

" As for what relates to myſelf, High and Mighty Lords, nothing more pleaſing could have happened to me, than being charged for the ſecond time with the king's orders near your High Mightineſſes; eſpecially in an occaſion where the buſineſs was to concert means to perform the engagements which I contributed to form ſome years ago.

" I ſhall never forget the kind reception I met with then, and at preſent, from your High Mightineſſes; and my gratitude will end but with my days: but, if your High Mightineſſes will vouchſafe to remember me, view me, high and mighty lords, only on the ſide of my ſincere zeal for the

the common good of both nations; my reſpectful veneration for your government; and, if I may preſume to uſe the expreſſion, my tender attachment to this republic.

Done at the Hague, May 18, 1745. CHESTERFIELD."

On his majeſty's going abroad in the ſame year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, the earl of Cheſterfield was declared one of the Lords Juſtices for the adminiſtration of the government in his abſence: but his lordſhip's preſence being wanted in Ireland, he ſet out for his vice-royſhip, and landed at Dublin in the latter end of the month of Auguſt; where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and congratulated by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and corporations in their formalities, the recorder, in their name, expreſſing a ſenſe of his abilities, merit, and integrity. His lordſhip opened the ſeſſion of parliament, on the eighth day of October following, with an eloquent and beautiful ſpeech, admirably adapted to the circumſtances of the times.

The

The SPEECH *of his Excellency* PHILIP *Earl of* CHESTERFIELD, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, at* Dublin, *on* Tueſday, Oct. 8, 1745.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I AM honoured with the king's commands to meet you here in parliament, and to co operate with you in whatever may tend to eſtabliſh, or promote the true intereſt of this kingdom.

" His majeſty's tender concern for all his ſubjects, and your zeal and duty for him, have mutually been too long experienced for me now to repreſent the one, or recommend the other.

" Your own reflections will beſt ſuggeſt to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a ſucceſſion of proteſtant princes, by principle inclined, and by legal authority enabled to preſerve and protect you; as your own hiſtory, and even the experience of ſome alive among you, will beſt paint the miſeries and calamities of a people ſcourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawleſs power.

" Theſe conſiderations muſt neceſſarily excite your higheſt indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to diſturb

diſturb his majeſty's government, by a Pretender to his crown: one nurſed up in civil and religious error; formed to perſecution and oppreſſion, in the ſeat of ſuperſtition and tyranny; whoſe groundleſs claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms; whoſe only hopes of ſupport are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whoſe ſucceſs would conſequently deſtroy your liberty, your property, and your religion. But this ſucceſs is little to be feared, his majeſty's ſubjects giving daily and diſtinguiſhed proofs of their zeal for the ſupport of his government, and the defence of his perſon; and a conſiderable number of national troops, together with ſix thouſand Dutch, chearfully furniſhed to his majeſty by his good allies the States General, being now upon their march to Scotland; a force more than ſufficient to check the progreſs, and chaſtiſe the inſolence of a rebellious and undiſciplined multitude.

"The meaſures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of popery have, I hope, had ſome, and will ſtill have, a greater effect: however, I leave it to your conſideration, whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws,

or

or by the more effectual execution of thoſe in being, to ſecure this nation againſt the great number of papiſts; whoſe ſpeculative errors would only deſerve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil ſociety did not both require and authoriſe reſtraint.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the ſeveral accounts and eſtimates, and I have the pleaſure of acquainting you, that I have nothing to aſk but the uſual and neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment.

" The king having thought it neceſſary, at this time, to ſend for two battalions more from hence, has ordered, that, immediately upon their landing in England, they ſhall be put upon the Britiſh eſtabliſhment; and that the ſupplemental increaſe of regular forces, for your defence here, ſhall be made in the leaſt expenſive manner, by additional companies only; after which augmentation, the number of troops will ſtill be within the uſual military eſtabliſhment.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I hear of the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of your

your linen manufacture, and I moſt earneſtly recommend to you the care and improvement of ſo valuable a branch of your trade; let not this proſperity produce negligence; and let it never be ſuppoſed to be brought to its utmoſt extent or perfection. Trade has always been the beſt ſupport of all nations, and the principal care of the wiſeſt.

"I perſuade myſelf, that the buſineſs of this ſeſſion will be carried on with that temper and unanimity which a true and unbiaſſed regard for the public naturally produces, and which the preſent ſtate of affairs more particularly demands. For my own part, I make you no profeſſions; you will, you ought to judge of me, only by my actions."

Both houſes, in conſequence of this ſpeech, agreed upon very loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, expreſſing their utmoſt indignation at, and abhorrence of the rebellion in Scotland, and promiſing to ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and by his lordſhip's vigilance, and prudent adminiſtration, which was univerſally admired, all was kept quiet in Ireland. He was indeed ſo much eſteemed there, that moſt or all the chief cities in that kingdom entered into aſſociations for the defence of the reigning family.

But, amidſt all this multiplicity of buſineſs, the earl of Cheſterfield ſtill found time to attend to the education of his ſon, as appears by the following letters; which, as they appear to have but a remote connection with the general ſyſtem, I ſhall give in this place:—and, the better to ſhew his lordſhip's paternal affection, I ſhall prefix the date to each.

Dublin Caſtle, Nov. 19, 1745.

" DEAR BOY,

" NOW, that the Chriſtmas breaking-up draws near, I have ordered Mr. Deſnoyers to go to you, during that time, to teach you to dance. I deſire you will particularly attend to the graceful motion of your arms; which, with the manner of putting on your hat, and giving your hand, is all that a gentleman need attend to. Dancing in itſelf a very trifling, ſilly thing; but it is one of thoſe eſtabliſhed follies to which people of ſenſe are ſometimes obliged to conform; and then they ſhould be able to do it well. And, though I would not have you a dancer, yet, when you do dance, I would have you dance well, as I would have you do every thing, you do, well. There is no one thing ſo trifling, but which (if it is to be done at all

all) ought to be done well. And I have often told you, that I wiſhed you even played at pitch, and cricket, better than any boy at Weſtminſter. For inſtance; dreſs is a very fooliſh thing; and yet it is a very fooliſh thing for a man not to be well dreſſed, according to his rank and way of life; and it is ſo far from being a diſparagement to any man's underſtanding, that it is rather a proof of it, to be as well dreſſed as thoſe whom he lives with. The difference in this caſe, between a man of ſenſe and a fop is, that the fop values himſelf upon his dreſs; and the man of ſenſe laughs at it, at the ſame time that he knows he muſt not neglect it. There are a thouſand fooliſh cuſtoms of this kind, which, not being criminal, muſt be complied with, and even chearfully, by men of ſenſe. Diogenes the cynic was a wiſe man for deſpiſing them; but a fool for ſhewing it. Be wiſer than other people, if you can; but do not tell them ſo. Good night."

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 8, 1746.

" SIR,

" I have been honoured with two letters from you, ſince I troubled you with my laſt; and I have likewiſe received a

letter from Mr. Morel, containing a ſhort, but beautiful manuſcript, ſaid to be yours; but, I confeſs, I can hardly believe it, becauſe it is ſo very different from your common writing; and I will not ſuppoſe that you do not always write as well as you can; for to do any thing ill, that one can do well, is a degree of negligence, which I can never ſuſpect you of. I always applauded your laudable ambition of excelling in every thing you attempted; and therefore make no doubt but that you will, in a little time, be able to write full as well as the perſon (whoever he was) that wrote that manuſcript, which is ſaid to be yours. People like you have a contempt for mediocrity, and are not ſatisfied with eſcaping cenſure; they aim at praiſe, and, by deſiring, ſeldom fail deſerving and acquiring it.

"You propoſe, I find, Demoſthenes for your model; and you have choſen very well: but remember the pains he took to be what he was. He ſpoke near the ſea, in ſtorms, both to uſe himſelf to ſpeak loud, and not to be diſturbed by the noiſe and tumult of public aſſemblies; he put ſtones in his mouth, to help his elocution, which naturally was not advantageous: from which facts I conclude, that, whenever he ſpoke, he opened both his lips

lips and his teeth; and that he articulated every word and every ſyllable diſtinctly, and full loud enough to be heard the whole length of my library.

"As he took ſo much pains for the graces of oratory only, I conclude he took ſtill more for the more ſolid parts of it. I am apt to think he applied himſelf extremely, to the propriety, the purity, and the elegancy of his language; to the diſtribution of the parts of his oration; to the force of his arguments; to the ſtrength of his proofs; and to the paſſions, as well as the judgments of his audience. I fancy he began with an *exordium*, to gain the good opinion and the affections of his audience; that afterwards he ſtated the point in queſtion, briefly, but clearly; that he then brought his proofs, afterwards his arguments; and that he concluded with a *peroratio*, in which he recapitulated the whole ſuccinctly, enforced the ſtrong parts; and artfully ſlipped over the weak ones; and at laſt made his ſtrong puſh at the paſſions of his hearers. Wherever you would perſuade or prevail, addreſs yourſelf to the paſſions; it is by them that mankind is to be taken. Ceſar bid his ſoldiers, at the battle of Pharſalia, aim at the faces of Pompey's men; they did ſo, and prevailed. I bid you ſtrike at

the paſſions; and if you do, you too will prevail. If you can once engage people's pride, love, pity, ambition (or whichever is their prevailing paſſion) on your ſide, you need not fear what their reaſon can do againſt you. Your, &c."

Dublin Caſtle, March 10, 1746.

SIR,

"I moſt thankfully acknowledge the honour of two or three letters from you, ſince I troubled you with my laſt; and am very proud of the repeated inſtances you give me of your favour and protection, which I ſhall endeavour to deſerve.

"I am very glad you went to hear a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and ſtill more ſo, that you made the proper animadverſions upon the inattention of many of the people in the Court. As you obſerved, very well, the indecency of that inattention, I am ſure you will never be guilty of any thing like it yourſelf. There is no ſurer ſign in the world of a little, weak mind, than inattention. Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention. It is the ſure anſwer of a fool, when you aſk him about any thing that was ſaid or done, where he was preſent, that

that, "truly he did not mind it:" And why did not the fool mind it? What had he elſe to do there, but to mind what was doing? A man of ſenſe ſees, hears, and retains every thing that paſſes where he is.

"I deſire I may never hear you talk of not minding, nor complain, as moſt fools do, of a treacherous memory. Mind, not only what people ſay, but how they ſay it; and, if you have any ſagacity, you may diſcover more truth by your eyes than by your ears. People can ſay what they will, but they cannot look juſt as they will: and their looks frequently diſcover, what their words are calculated to conceal. Obſerve, therefore, people's looks carefully, when they ſpeak, not only to you, but to each other. I have often gueſſed, by people's faces, what they were ſaying, though I could not hear one word they ſaid. The moſt material knowledge of all, I mean the knowledge of the world, is never to be acquired without great attention; and I know many old people, who, though they have lived long in the world, are but children ſtill as to the knowledge of it, from their levity and inattention. Certain forms, which all people comply with, and certain arts, which all people aim at, hide in ſome degree, the truth, and give a general exterior reſem-

blance to almoſt every body. Attention and ſagacity muſt ſee through that veil, and diſcover the natural character.

" You are of an age, now, to reflect, to obſerve and compare characters, and to arm yourſelf againſt the common arts, at leaſt, of the world. If a man, with whom you are but barely acquainted, to whom you have made no offers, nor given any marks of friendſhip, makes you, on a ſudden, ſtrong profeſſions of his, receive them with civility, but do not repay them with confidence; he certainly means to deceive you; for one man does not fall in love with another at ſight. If a man uſes ſtrong proteſtations or oaths, to make you believe a thing, which is of itſelf ſo likely and probable, that the bare ſaying of it would be ſufficient, depend upon it he lies, and is highly intereſted in making you believe it; or elſe he would not take ſo much pains.

" In about five weeks, I propoſe having the honour of laying myſelf at your feet; which I hope to find grown longer than they were when I left them. Adieu.

The pompous pleaſantry with which this letter concludes, unriddles the myſtery of the ſolemn *Sir*, with which it and the foregoing are introduced.

April

April the 5th, 1746.

" DEAR BOY,

" Before it is very long, I am of opinion, that you will both think and ſpeak more favourably of women than you do now. You ſeem to think, that, from Eve downwards, they have done a great deal of miſchief. As for that Lady, I give her up to you; but, ſince her time, hiſtory will inform you, that men have done much more miſchief in the world than women; and to ſay the truth, I would not adviſe you to truſt either, more than is abſolutely neceſſary. But this I will adviſe you to, which is, never to attack whole bodies of any kind; for beſides that all general rules have their exceptions, you unneceſſarily make yourſelf a great number of enemies, by attacking a *corps* collectively. Among women, as among men, there are good as well as bad, and it may be, full as many, or more, good than among men. This rule holds as to lawyers, ſoldiers, parſons, courtiers, citizens, *&c.* they are all men, ſubject to the ſame paſſions and ſentiments, differing only in the manner, according to their ſeveral educations; and it would be as imprudent as unjuſt to attack any of

them by the lump. Individuals forgive ſometimes; but bodies and ſocieties never do. Many young people think it very genteel and witty to abuſe the Clergy; in which they are extremely miſtaken; ſince, in my opinion, parſons are very like men, and neither the better nor the worſe for wearing a black gown. All general reflections, upon nations and ſocieties, are the trite, thread-bare jokes of thoſe who ſet up for wit without having any, and ſo have recourſe to common-place. Judge of individuals from your own knowledge of them, and not from their ſex, profeſſion, or denomination.

" Though, at my return, which, I hope, will be very ſoon, I ſhall not find your feet lengthened, I hope I ſhall find your head a good deal ſo, and then I ſhall not much mind your feet. In two or three months after my return, you and me ſhall part for ſome time: you muſt go to read men, as well as books, of all languages and nations. Obſervation and reflections will then be very neceſſary for you. We will talk this matter over fully when we meet; which, I hope, will be in the laſt week of this month; till when, I have the honour of being

Your moſt faithful ſervant."

On

On the eleventh day of April, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-ſix, his lordſhip having given his aſſent to ſeveral acts very conducive to the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland, concluded the ſeſſion of parliament with the following excellent ſpeech from the throne.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being now concluded, I believe, you cannot be unwilling to return to your reſpective counties; as you muſt be ſenſible, that the many good laws which you have paſſed will receive an additional weight by your authority in executing, and by your example in obſerving them.

" The almoſt unprecedented temper and unanimity with which you have carried on the public buſineſs, your unſhaken fidelity to the king, your inviolable attachment to the preſent happy conſtitution, and your juſt indignation of the attempts lately made to ſubvert it, will advantageouſly diſtinguiſh this ſeſſion in the journals of parliament; and the concurrent zeal and active loyalty, of all his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects of all denominations, throughout this kingdom, prove at once how ſenſible and how deſerving they are of his care and protection.

Even

Even thoſe deluded people, who ſcarcely acknowledge his government, ſeem, by their conduct, tacitly to have confeſſed the advantages they enjoy under it. At my return to his majeſty's preſence, I ſhall not fail moſt faithfully to report theſe truths; ſince the moſt faithful will be, at the ſame time, the moſt favourable repreſentation.

"The rebellion, which rather diſturbed than endangered the king's government, has been defeated, though not yet totally ſuppreſſed: but as thoſe flagitious parricides, who were abandoned enough to avow, and deſperate enough to engage in the cauſe of popery and tyranny have already been repulſed and purſued by the volour of his royal highneſs the Duke, there is the ſtrongeſt room to believe, that he will ſoon complete the work which he has ſo gloriouſly begun, and reſtore the tranquility of the kingdom. This attempt therefore to ſhake his majeſty's throne, will ſerve to eſtabliſh it the more firmly; ſince all Europe muſt now know the unanimous zeal and affection of his ſubjects for the defence and ſupport of his perſon and government; and thoſe hopes are at laſt extinguiſhed with which the Pretender has ſo long flattered, and, as it now appears, at laſt deceived himſelf.

Even

Even the powers, who encouraged him to the attempt, muſt convince him, that he has now been, what he ever will be, only the occaſional tool of their politicks, not the real object of their care.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have the king's commands to thank you, in his name, for the unanimity and diſpatch with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment. You may depend upon their being applied with the utmoſt exactneſs and frugality.

" I muſt not omit my own acknowledgments for the particular confidence you have placed in me, by leaving to my care and management the great ſum that you voluntary voted for national arms, and for fortifying the harbour of Corke. The conſiderable ſaving which will appear upon thoſe two articles, as well in the intereſt upon the loan, as in the application of the principal, will, I hope prove that I have been truly ſenſible of the truſt repoſed in me.

" The aſſiſtance which you have given to the proteſtant charter-ſchools is a moſt prudent, as well as a moſt compaſſionate charity; and I do very earneſtly recommend

recommend to your conſtant protection and encouragement that excellent inſtitution by which ſuch a conſiderable number of unhappy children are annually reſcued from the miſery that always, and the guilt that commonly accompanies uninſtructed poverty and idleneſs.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" Though Great Britain has, in the courſe of this century, been often moleſted by inſurrections at home and invaſions from abroad, this kingdom has happily, and deſervedly, enjoyed that uninterrupted tranquility which trade and manufactures, arts and ſciences, require for their improvement and perfection. Nature too has been peculiarly favourable to this country, whoſe temperate climate and fruitful ſoil ſo invite, and would reward, care and induſtry. Let me, therefore, moſt ſeriouſly recommend to you, in your private as well as in your public capacities, the utmoſt attention to thoſe important objects, which at once enrich, ſtrengthen, and adorn a nation. They will flouriſh, where they are cultivated; and they are always beſt cultivated by the indulgence, the encouragement, and above all by the example of perſons of ſuperior rank.

" I cannot

" I cannot conclude without repeating my heartieſt thanks to you for your kind addreſſes, in which you expreſs your approbation of my conduct. My duty to the king, who wiſhes the intereſt and happineſs of all his ſubject, called for my utmoſt endeavours to promote yours; and my inclinations conſpired with my duty. Theſe ſentiments ſhall, I aſſure you, be the only motives of all my actions, of which your intereſt muſt conſequently be the only object."

Immediately after cloſing the ſeſſion, the earl of Cheſterfield ſet out for London, where he arrived the thirteenth of April; ſoon after which he ſent his ſon abroad, as he had intimated in his laſt letter, and went to Bath himſelf for the benefit of his health. His letters to his dear boy grew now more frequent and important; but as they ſoon met with a temporary interruption, I ſhall purſue the ſame method, which I did with regard to thoſe from Dublin, though they have certainly a more intimate relation to the general ſyſtem. That relation however is not ſufficiently intimate to entitle them to be conſidered as part of it: I ſhall therefore retain the dates and other particulars illuſtrative of his lordſhip's life.

Bath,

Bath, Sept. 29, O. S. 1746.

" DEAR BOY,

" I received by the laſt mail your letter of the twenty-third N. S. from Heidelberg, and am very well pleaſed to find that you inform yourſelf of the particulars of ſeveral places you go through. You do mighty right to ſee the curioſities in thoſe ſeveral places; ſuch as the golden *Bull* at Frankfort, the tun at Heidelberg, *&c.* Other travellers ſee them and talk of them, it is very proper to ſee them too; but remember, that ſeeing is the leaſt material object of travelling; hearing and knowing are the eſſential points. Therefore pray let your inquiries be chiefly directed to the knowledge of the conſtitution and particular cuſtoms of the places where you either reſide at, or paſs through; who they belong to, by what right and tenure, and ſince when; in whom the ſupreme authority is lodged; and by what magiſtrates, and in what manner, the civil and the criminal juſtice is adminiſtered. It is likewiſe neceſſary to get as much acquaintance as you can, in order to obſerve the characters and manners of the people; for, though human nature is in truth the ſame through the whole

human

human ſpecies, yet it is ſo differently modified and varied, by education, habit, and different cuſtoms, that one ſhould, upon a ſlight and ſuperficial obſervation, almoſt think it different.

" As I have never been in Switzerland myſelf, I muſt deſire you to inform me, now and then, of the conſtitution of that country. As for inſtance; do the Thirteen Cantons, jointly and collectively, form one government, where the ſupreme authority is lodged; or is each canton ſovereign in itſelf, and under no tie or conſtitutional obligation of acting in common concert with the other Cantons? Can any one Canton make war or alliances with a foreign power, without the conſent of the other twelve, or at leaſt a majority of them? Can one Canton declare war to another? If every Canton is ſovereign and independent in itſelf, in whom is the ſupreme power of that Canton lodged? Is it in one man, or in a certain number of men? If in one man, what is he called? If in a number, what are they called; ſenate, council, or what? I do not ſuppoſe that you can yet know theſe things yourſelf; but a very little inquiry, of thoſe who do, will enable you to anſwer me theſe queſtions in your next.

" You ſee, I am ſure, the neceſſity of knowing theſe things thoroughly, and, conſequently the neceſſity of converſing much with the people of the country, who alone can inform you rightly; whereas moſt of the Engliſh, who travel, converſe only with each other, and conſequently know no more, when they return to England, than they did when they left it. This proceeds from a *mauvaiſe honte*, which makes them aſhamed of going into company; and frequently too from the want of the neceſſary language (French) to enable them to bear their part in it. As for the *mauvaiſe honte*, I hope you are above it. Your figure is like other people's; I ſuppoſe you will take care that your dreſs ſhall be ſo too, and to avoid any ſingularity. What then ſhould you be aſhamed of; and why not go into a mixed company, with as much eaſe, and as little concern as you would go into your own room? Vice and ignorance are the only things I know, which one ought to be aſhamed of: keep but clear of them, and you may go any where, without fear or concern."

This is an excellent advice, and the obſervations that follow are worthy of it.

" I have known ſome people, who, from feeling the pain and inconveniencies of

of this *mauvaiſe honte*, have ruſhed into the other extreme, and turned impudent; as cowards ſometimes grow deſperate from the exceſs of danger: but this too is carefully to be avoided; there being nothing more generally ſhocking than impudence. The medium, between theſe two extremes, marks out the well-bred man; he feels himſelf firm and eaſy in all companies; is modeſt without being baſhful, and ſteady without being impudent: if he is a ſtranger, he obſerves, with care, the manners and ways of the people the moſt eſteemed of that place, and conforms to them with complaiſance. Inſtead of finding fault with the cuſtoms of that place, and telling the people that the Engliſh ones are a thouſand times better, (as my countrymen are very apt to do) he commends their table, their dreſs, their houſes, and their manners, a little more, it may be, than he really thinks they deſerve. But this degree of complaiſance is neither criminal nor abject; and is but a ſmall price to pay for the good-will and affection of the people you converſe with. As the generality of people are weak enough to be pleaſed with theſe little things, thoſe who refuſe to pleaſe them, ſo cheap, are, in my mind, weaker than they.

" This

" This letter is insensibly grown too long; but, as I always flatter myself that my experience may be of some use to your youth and inexperience, I throw out, as it occurs to me, and shall continue to do so, every thing that I think may be of the least advantage to you in this important and decisive period of your life. God preserve you!

" P. S. I am much better, and shall leave this place soon."

The following letter altogether is a masterpiece; and what is remarkable, his lordship's name is formally affixed to it in the late publication, and not to any of the rest.

Bath, Oct. the 4th, O. S. 1746.

" DEAR BOY,

" Though I employ so much of my time in writing to you, I confess, I have often my doubts, whether it is to any purpose. I know how unwelcome advice generally is; I know that those who want it most, like it and follow it least; and I know, too, that the advice of parents, more particularly, is ascribed to the moroseness, the imperiousness, or the garrulity of old-age. But then, on the other hand,

hand, I flatter myſelf, that as your own reaſon, (though too young as yet to ſuggeſt much to you of itſelf) is, however, ſtrong enough to enable you, both to judge of, and receive plain truths: I flatter myſelf (I ſay) that your own reaſon, young as it is, muſt tell you, that I can have no intereſt but yours in the advice I give you; and that, conſequently, you will at leaſt weigh and conſider it well: in which caſe, ſome of it will, I hope, have its effect. Do not think that I mean to dictate as a parent; I only mean to adviſe as a friend, and an indulgent one too: and do not apprehend that I mean to check your pleaſures; of which, on the contrary, I only deſire to be the guide, not the cenſor. Let my experience ſupply your want of it, and clear your way, in the progreſs of your youth, of thoſe thorns and briars, which ſcratched and diſfigured me in the courſe of mine. I do not, therefore, ſo much as hint to you, how abſolutely dependent you are upon me; that you neither have nor can have a ſhilling in the world but from me; and that, as I have no womaniſh weakneſs for your perſon, your merit muſt, and will, be the only meaſure of my kindneſs. I ſay, I do not hint theſe things to you, becauſe I am convinced

that

that you will act right, upon more noble and generous principles: I mean, for the ſake of doing right, and out of affection and gratitude to me.

"I have ſo often recommended, to you, attention and application to whatever you learn, that I do not mention them now as duties; but I point them out to you, as conducive, nay, abſolutely neceſſary to your pleaſures; for can there be a greater pleaſure, than to be univerſally allowed to excel thoſe of one's own age and manner of life? And, conſequently, can there be any thing more mortifying than to be excelled by them? In this latter caſe, your ſhame and regret muſt be greater than any body's, becauſe every body knows the uncommon care which has been taken of your education, and the opportunities you have had of knowing more than others of your age. I do not confine the application which I recommend, ſingly to the view and emulation of excelling others (though that is a very ſenſible pleaſure and a very warrantable pride;) but I mean likewiſe to excel in the thing itſelf: for, in my mind, one may as well not know a thing at all, as know it but imperfectly. To know a little of any thing, gives neither ſatisfaction

tion nor credit; but often brings diſgrace or ridicule.

Mr. Pope ſays, very truly,

" A little knowledge is a dang'rous thing;
" Drink deep, or taſte not the Caſtalian ſpring."

And what is called a *ſmattering* of every thing, infallibly conſtitutes a coxcomb. I have often, of late, reflected what an unhappy man I muſt now have been, if I had not acquired in my youth ſome fund and taſte of learning. What could I have done with myſelf, at this age, without them? I muſt, as many ignorant people do, have deſtroyed my health and faculties by ſotting away the evenings; or, by waſting them frivolouſly in the tattle of women's company, muſt have expoſed myſelf to the ridicule and contempt of thoſe very women; or, laſtly, I muſt have hanged myſelf, as a man once did, for wearineſs of putting on and pulling off his ſhoes and ſtockings every day. My books, and only my books, are now left me, and I daily find what Cicero ſays of learning to be true: *Hæc ſtudia* (ſays he) *adoleſcentiam alunt, ſenectutem oblectant, ſecundas res ornant, adverſis perfugium, ac ſolatium præbent, delectant domi, impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiſcum, peregrinantur, ruſticantur.*

" I do

" I do not mean, by this, to exclude converſation out of the pleaſures of an advanced age; on the contrary, it is a very great and a very rational pleaſure, at all ages; but the converſation of the ignorant is no converſation, and gives even them no pleaſure: they tire of their own ſterility, and have not matter enough to furniſh them with words to keep up a converſation.

" Let me, therefore, moſt earneſtly recommend to you, to hoard up while you can, a great ſtock of knowledge; for though, during the diſſipation of your youth, you may not have occaſion to ſpend much of it; yet, you may depend upon it, that a time will come, when you will want it to maintain you. Public granaries are filled in plentiful years; not that it is known that the next, or the ſecond, or third year will prove a ſcarce one; but becauſe it is known, that, ſooner or later, ſuch a year will come, in which the grain will be wanted.

" I will ſay no more to you upon this ſubject; you have Mr. Harte with you to enforce it, you have reaſon to aſſent to the truth of it; ſo that, in ſhort, " you have Moſes and the Prophets; if " you will not believe them, neither will " you believe, though one roſe from the dead."

" dead." — Do not imagine that the knowledge, which I ſo much recommend to you, is confined to books, pleaſing, uſeful, and neceſſary as that knowledge is: but I comprehend in it the great knowledge of the world, ſtill more neceſſary than that of books. In truth, they aſſiſt one another reciprocally; and no man will have either perfectly, who has not both. The knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in a cloſet. Books alone will never teach it you; but they will ſuggeſt many things to your obſervation, which might otherwiſe eſcape you; and your own obſervations upon mankind, when compared with thoſe which you will find in books, will help you to fix the true point.

" To know mankind well, requires full as much attention and application as to know books, and, it may be, more ſagacity and diſcernment. I am, at this time, acquainted with many elderly people, who have all paſſed their whole lives in the great world, but with ſuch levity and inattention, that they know no more of it now, than they did at fifteen. Do not flatter yourſelf, therefore, with the thoughts that you can acquire this knowledge in the frivolous chit-chat of idle

companies: no, you muſt go much deeper than that. You muſt look into people, as well as at them. Almoſt all people are born with all the paſſions, to a certain degree; but almoſt every man has one prevailing one, to which the others are ſubordinate. Search every one for that ruling paſſion; pry into the receſſes of his heart, and obſerve the different workings of the ſame paſſion in different people. And, when you have found out the prevailing paſſion of any man, remember never to truſt him, where that paſſion is concerned. Work upon him by it, if you pleaſe; but be upon your guard yourſelf againſt it, whatever profeſſions he may make you.

"I would deſire you to read this letter twice over, but that I much doubt whether you will read once to the end of it. I will trouble you no longer now; but we will have more upon this ſubject hereafter. Adieu.

CHESTERFIELD.

"I have this moment received your letter from Schaffhauſen: in the date of it you forgot the month"

How attentive was this great man to the all-accompliſhing of his dear boy!

Bath,

Bath, Oct. 9, O. S. 1746.

" DEAR BOY,

" Your diſtreſſes in your journey from Heidelberg to Schaffhauſen, your lying upon ſtraw, your black bread, and your broken *Berline*, are proper ſeaſonings for the greater fatigues and diſtreſſes which you muſt expect in the courſe of your travels; and, if one had a mind to moralize, one might call them the ſamples of the accidents, rubs, and difficulties, which every man meets with in his journey through life. In this journey, the underſtanding is the *voiture* that muſt carry you through; and in proportion as that is ſtronger or weaker, more or leſs in repair, your journey will be better or worſe; though, at beſt, you will now and then find ſome bad roads, and ſome bad inns. Take care, therefore, to keep that neceſſary *voiture* in perfect good repair; examine, improve, and ſtrengthen it every day: it is in the power, and ought to be the care of every man to do it; he that neglects it, deſerves to feel, and certainly will feel, the fatal effects of that negligence.

" *A propos* of negligence; I muſt ſay ſomething to you upon that ſubject. You

know I have often told you, that my affection for you was not a weak, womaniſh one; and, far from blinding me, it makes me but more quick-ſighted, as to your faults: thoſe it is not only my right, but my duty, to tell you of; and it is your duty and your intereſt to correct them. In the ſtrict ſcrutiny which I have made into you, I have (thank God) hitherto not diſcovered any vice of the heart, or any peculiar weakneſs of the head: but I have diſcovered lazineſs, inattention, and indifference; faults which are only pardonable in old men, who, in the decline of life, when health and ſpirits fail, have a kind of claim to that ſort of tranquillity. But a young man ſhould be ambitious to ſhine, and excel; alert, active, and indefatigable in the means of doing it; and, like Ceſar, *Nil actum reputans, ſi quid ſupereſſet agendum.* You ſeem to want that *vivida vis animi*, which ſpurs and excites moſt young men to pleaſe, to ſhine, to excel. Without the deſire and the pains neceſſary to be conſiderable, depend upon it, you never can be ſo; as, without the deſire and attention neceſſary to pleaſe, you never can pleaſe. *Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia*, is unqueſtionably true, with regard to every thing except poetry; and I am very ſure that any man of

of common underſtanding may, by proper culture, care, attention, and labour, make himſelf whatever he pleaſes, except a good poet."

Why his lordſhip ſhould have excepted poetry, ſeems a little odd; particularly as he has elſewhere ſaid, that the meaſure and harmony of verſification may be acquired: and it certainly may, by any man who has got a good ear. What then ſhould hinder any man of a good ear and warm imagination, from making himſelf a poet? And without both he will make but a poor orator, notwithſtanding the adage *naſcitur poeta, fit orator*. An implicit veneration for the authority of the ancients could only have led his lordſhip into ſuch a vulgar error. What follows, however, in ſome meaſure forms his apology; for it appears, that the qualifications which he demanded of his ſon, required induſtry, not genius.

"Your deſtination,"—continues he,—"is the great and buſy world; your immediate object is the affairs, the intereſts, and the hiſtory, the conſtitutions, the cuſtoms, and the manners of the ſeveral parts of Europe. In this, any man of common ſenſe may, by common application, be ſure to excel. Ancient and modern hiſtory are, by attention, eaſily

 attainable.

attainable. Geography and chronology the ſame; none of them requiring any uncommon ſhare of genius or invention. Speaking and writing clearly, correctly, and with eaſe and grace, are certainly to be acquired, by reading the beſt authors with care, and by attention to the beſt living models. Theſe are the qualifications more particularly neceſſary for you, in your department, which you may be poſſeſſed of, if you pleaſe; and which, I tell you fairly, I ſhall be very angry at you, if you are not; becauſe, as you have the means in your hands, it will be your own fault only.

"If care and application are neceſſary to the acquiring of thoſe qualifications, without which you can never be conſiderable, nor make a figure in the world; they are not leſs neceſſary with regard to the leſſer accompliſhments, which are requiſite to make you agreeable and pleaſing in ſociety. In truth, whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention: I therefore carry the neceſſity of attention down to the loweſt things, even to dancing and dreſs. Cuſtom has made dancing ſometimes neceſſary for a young man; therefore mind it while you learn it, that you may learn to do it well, and

not

not be ridiculous, though in a ridiculous act. Dreſs is of the ſame nature; you muſt dreſs: therefore attend to it; not in order to rival or excel a fop in it, but in order to avoid ſingularity, and conſequently ridicule. Take great care always to be dreſſed like the reaſonable people of your own age, in the place where you are; whoſe dreſs is never ſpoken of one way or another, as either too negligent, or too much ſtudied.

"What is commonly called an abſent man, is commonly either a very weak, or a very affected man; but be he which he will, he is, I am ſure, a very diſagreeable man in company. He fails in all the common offices of civility; he ſeems not to know thoſe people to day, whom yeſterday he appeared to live in intimacy with. He takes no part in the general converſation; but, on the contrary, breaks into it from time to time, with ſome ſtart of his own, as if he waked from a dream. This (as I ſaid before) is a ſure indication, either of a mind ſo weak that it is not able to bear above one object at a time; or ſo affected, that it would be ſuppoſed to be wholly engroſſed by, and directed to, ſome very great and important objects. Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr. Locke, and (it may be) five or ſix more, ſince the crea-

tion of the world, may have had a right to abſence, from that intenſe thought which the things they were inveſtigating required. But if a young man, and a man of the world, who has no ſuch avocations to plead, will claim and exerciſe that right of abſence in company, his pretended right ſhould, in my mind, be turned into an involuntary abſence, by his perpetual excluſion out of company.

" However frivolous a company may be, ſtill, while you are among them, do not ſhow them, by your inattention, that you think them ſo; but rather take their tone, and conform in ſome degree to their weakneſs, inſtead of manifeſting your contempt for them. There is nothing that people bear more impatiently, or forgive leſs, than contempt; and an injury is much ſooner forgotten than an inſult. If therefore you would rather pleaſe than offend, rather be well than ill ſpoken of, rather be loved than hated; remember to have that conſtant attention about you, which flatters every man's little vanity; and the want of which, by mortifying his pride, never fails to excite his reſentment, or at leaſt his ill-will.

" My long and frequent letters, which I ſend you, in great doubt of their ſucceſs, put me in mind of certain papers, which

which you have, very lately, and I formerly, ſent up to kites, along the ſtring, which we called meſſengers; ſome of them the wind uſed to blow away, others were torn by the ſtring, and but few of them got up and ſtuck to the kite. But I will content myſelf now, as I did then, if ſome of my preſent meſſengers do but ſtick to you. Adieu."

The earl of Cheſterfield was appointed one of his majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, ſoon after the date of the foregoing letter: the correſpondence was, therefore, in ſome meaſure, interrupted for a time. He hints at that interruption in a letter to his ſon, dated the ſecond of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-ſix.

"I have not, in my preſent ſituation, time to write to you, either ſo much or ſo often as I uſed, while I was in a place of much more leiſure and profit: but my affection for you muſt not be judged of by the number of my letters; and, though the one leſſens, the other, I aſſure you, does not."

But notwithſtanding what the earl of Cheſterfield here ſays of the want of leiſure, he continued to write pretty frequently to his dear boy, even while Secretary; and I ſhall continue, as formerly, to give

ſuch letters written during that time, as can throw any light upon his lordſhip's life or character.

London, Dec. 9th, O. S. 1746.

" DEAR BOY,

" Though I have very little time, and though I write by this poſt to Mr. Harte, [his ſon's governor] yet I cannot ſend a packet to Lauſanne without a word or two to yourſelf. I thank you for your letter of congratulation which you wrote me, notwithſtanding the pain it gave you. The accident that cauſed the pain, was, I preſume, owing to that degree of giddineſs which I have ſometimes taken the liberty to ſpeak to you of. The poſt I am now in, though the object of moſt people's views and deſires, was in ſome degree inflicted upon me; and a certain concurrence of circumſtances obliged me to engage in it. But I feel that it requires more ſtrength of body and mind than I have, to go through with it: were you three or four years older, you ſhould ſhare in my trouble, and I would have taken you into my office; but I hope you will employ thoſe three or four years ſo well, as to make yourſelf capable of being of uſe to me, if I ſhould continue in it ſo long.

long. The reading, writing, and ſpeaking the modern languages correctly; the knowledge of the laws of nations, and the particular conſtitution of the empire; of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, are abſolutely neceſſary to this buſineſs, for which I have always intended you. With theſe qualifications, you may very poſſibly be my ſucceſſor, though not my immediate one.

" I hope you employ your whole time, which few people do; and that you put every moment to profit of ſome kind or other. I call company, walking, riding, *&c.* employing one's time, and, upon proper occaſions, very uſefully; but what I cannot forgive, in any body, is ſauntering, and doing nothing at all, with a thing ſo precious as time, and ſo irrecoverable when loſt.

" Are you acquainted with any ladies at Lauſanne; and do you behave yourſelf with politeneſs enough to make them deſire your company?

" I muſt finiſh: God bleſs you!

The next letter is in French: but as I ſuppoſe a tranſlation may ſatisfy moſt readers, I ſhall give that only. The ſubject is pleaſure.

London, Feb. 24th, O. S. 1747.

" SIR,

" In order that we may, reciprocally, keep up our French, which, for want of practice, we might forget, you will permit me to have the honour of aſſuring you of my reſpects, in that language; and be ſo good as to anſwer me alſo in the ſame. Not that I am apprehenſive of your forgetting to ſpeak French; ſince it is probable, that two-thirds of your daily prattle is in that language; but becauſe, if you leave off writing French, you may, perhaps, neglect that grammatical purity, and accurate orthography, which, in other languages, you excel in; and, even in French, it is better to write well than ill. It is a language at leaſt very proper for ſprightly and gay ſubjects; ſo that I ſhall confine myſelf to theſe, and reſerve thoſe which are ſerious for Engliſh. I ſhall not, therefore, mention to you, at preſent, your Greek or Latin, your ſtudy of the law of nature or nations, of the rights of communities or individuals, but rather diſcuſs the ſubject of your amuſements and pleaſures; for, to ſay the truth, one muſt have ſome. May I be permitted to inquire of what nature yours are? Do they conſiſt in a

little

little ſocial play, in good company? are they little agreeable ſuppers, at which chearfulneſs and decency are united? or, do you pay court to ſome fair one, who requires ſuch attentions as may be of uſe in contributing to poliſh you? Make me your confidant upon this ſubject; you ſhall not find a ſevere cenſor: on the contrary, I wiſh to obtain the employment of miniſter to your pleaſures: I will point them out, and even contribute to them.

"Many young people adopt pleaſures, for which they have not the leaſt taſte, only becauſe they are called by that name. They often miſtake ſo totally, as to imagine, that debauchery is pleaſure. You muſt allow that drunkenneſs, which is equally deſtructive to body and mind, is a fine pleaſure. High gaming, that draws you into a thouſand ſcrapes, leaves you pennyleſs, and gives you the air and manners of an outrageous madman, is another moſtexquiſite pleaſure; is it not? As to debauching with women, indeed, the conſequences are only the loſs of one's noſe, a broken conſtitution, and now and then a few thruſts with a ſword: trifles theſe! This however, is the catalogue of pleaſures of moſt young people; who never reaſon for themſelves, but adopt, indiſcriminately, what others chuſe to call by the ſeducing name of pleaſure. I am

thoroughly

thoroughly perſuaded you will not fall into ſuch errors; and that, in the choice of your amuſements, you will be directed by reaſon and a diſcerning taſte.

"Elegant company; the pleaſures of the table, within proper bounds; moderate play, which amuſes without ruffling; and the gay and ſprightly converſations of women of wit and faſhion, are the true pleaſures of a gentleman; pleaſures which cauſe neither ſickneſs, ſhame, nor repentance. Whatever exceeds theſe becomes low vice, brutal paſſion, debauchery, and inſanity of mind; all which, far from giving ſatisfaction, bring on diſhonour and diſgrace. Adieu."

In the following letter, among many others, his lordſhip diſcovers a peculiar partiality to French manners: and they undoubtedly have their advantages; particularly for a man deſigned to act in a public character, as they make him equally eaſy and recollected upon all occaſions. But an utter want of the ſenſe of ſhame, and ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs, are almoſt equally hurtful to their owner: the one prevents a man from diſplaying himſelf to advantage, the other makes all his eloquence and addreſs ineffectual; and between theſe two extremes generally lies the difference between an Engliſhman and a French-

Frenchman. I ſhould therefore think that a well bred Engliſhman (a character by no means ſcarce at preſent, whatever it might be when his lordſhip wrote) has as good a chance to touch the perfection of human nature as a Frenchman, if not a better; for a certain degree of diffidence of ourſelves, or an impreſſion of reſpect for thoſe we addreſs, is eſſential to perſuade. It is highly flattering to human pride, as well as neceſſary to convince others of our ſincerity; whereas the perfect eaſe of perfect French politeneſs arms our pride even againſt eloquence itſelf; and Cicero, with ſuch an air, had ſpoke in vain: nobody would have believed him in earneſt. But that accompliſhed Roman was ſo diſtant from French unconcern, that he never aſcended the roſtrum, he tells us, without trembling, as he certainly never did without perſuading; and the old officer, who aſking a favour of Lewis XIV. and not being able to conclude his diſcourſe, ſaid, "Sir, I hope "you will believe I do tremble thus be"fore your enemies," had as little difficulty to obtain his requeſt, as if he had been perfectly *unconcerned* in the *preſence* of *majeſty* —This much I thought neceſſary to ſay in vindication of Engliſh manners; or, at leaſt to ſhew, that a ſervile

vile imitation of French manners would not be attended with better conſequences, even to the MAN of the WORLD.

London, March 6th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" Whatever you do, will always affect me, very ſenſibly, one way or another; and I am now moſt agreeably affected, by two letters, which I have lately ſeen from Lauſanne, upon your ſubject; the one was from Madame St. Germain, the other from Monſieur Pampigny: they both give ſo good an account of you, that I thought myſelf obliged, in juſtice both to them and to you, to let you know it. Thoſe who deſerve a good character, ought to have the ſatisfaction of knowing that they have it, both as a reward and as an encouragement. They write that you are not only *décrotté*, but tolerably well-bred; and that the Engliſh cruſt of awkward baſhfulneſs, ſhyneſs, and roughneſs, (of which, by the bye, you had your ſhare) is pretty well rubbed off. I am moſt heartily glad of it; for, as I have often told you, thoſe leſſer talents, of an engaging, inſinuating manner, and eaſy good-breeding, a genteel behaviour and addreſs, are of infinitely more advantage, than

than they are generally thought to be, eſpecially here in England.

" Virtue and learning, like gold, have their intrinſic value; but if they are not poliſhed, they certainly loſe a great deal of their luſtre: and even poliſhed braſs will paſs upon more people than rough gold. What a number of ſins does the chearful, eaſy good-breeding of the French frequently cover? Many of them want common ſenſe, many more common learning; but, in general, they make up ſo much, by their manner, for thoſe defects, that, frequently, they paſs undiſcovered.

" I have often ſaid, and do think, that a Frenchman, who, with a fund of virtue, learning, and good ſenſe, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature. This perfection you may, if you pleaſe, and I hope you will, arrive at. You know what virtue is: you may have it if you will; it is in every man's power; and miſerable is the man who has it not. Good ſenſe, God has given you. Learning, you already poſſeſs enough of, to have, in a reaſonable time, all that a man need have. With this, you are thrown out early into the world, where it will be your own fault if you do not acquire all the other accompliſhments neceſſary to complete

complete and adorn your character. You will do well to make your compliments to Madame St. Germain and Monſieur Pampigny; and tell them, how ſenſible you are of their partiality to you, in the advantageous teſtimonies which, you are informed, they have given of you here.

"Adieu! Continue to deſerve ſuch teſtimonies; and then you will not only deſerve, but enjoy, my trueſt affection."

The ſubject of pleaſure is here reſumed, and the miſtakes with regard to it farther illuſtrated, by his lordſhip's own errors. If any of the ſentiments ſhould appear too free, it is to be remembred, that the author was not a parſon. In this letter and many others, he ſpeaks like a philoſopher, unwarped by ſyſtem, and unfettered by prejudice: he does not preach down pleaſures, but falſe ones.

London, March 27th, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"Pleaſure is the rock which moſt young people ſplit upon; they launch out with crowded ſails in queſt of it, but without a compaſs to direct their courſe, or reaſon ſufficient to ſteer the veſſel; for want of which, pain and ſhame, inſtead of pleaſure, are the returns of their voyage. Do not think

think that I mean to ſnarl at pleaſure, like a Stoic, or to preach againſt it like a parſon; no, I mean to point it out, and recommend it to you, like an Epicurean: I wiſh you a great deal; and my only view is to hinder you from miſtaking it.

"The character which moſt young men firſt aim at is, that of a man of pleaſure; but they generally take it upon truſt; and inſtead of conſulting their own taſte and inclinations, they blindly adopt whatever thoſe, with whom they chiefly converſe, are pleaſed to call by the name of pleaſure; and a *man of pleaſure*, in the vulgar acceptation of that phraſe, means only, a beaſtly drunkard, an abandoned whore-maſter, and a profligate ſwearer and curſer. As it may be of uſe to you, I am not unwilling, though at the ſame time aſhamed, to own, that the vices of my youth proceeded much more from my ſilly reſolution of being, what I heard called a man of pleaſure, than from my own inclinations. I always naturally hated drinking; and yet I have often drunk, with diſguſt at the time, attended by great ſickneſs the next day, only becauſe I then conſidered drinking as a neceſſary qualification for a fine gentleman, and a man of pleaſure.

"The

" The ſame as to gaming. I did not want money, and conſequently had no occaſion to play for it; but I thought play another neceſſary ingredient in the compoſition of a man of pleaſure, and accordingly I plunged into it without deſire, at firſt; ſacrificed a thouſand real pleaſures to it; and made myſelf ſolidly uneaſy by it, for thirty the beſt years of my life.

" I was even abſurd enough, for a little while, to ſwear, by way of adorning and completing the ſhining character which I affected; but this folly I ſoon laid aſide, upon finding both the guilt and the indecency of it.

" Thus ſeduced by faſhion, and blindly adopting nominal pleaſures, I loſt real ones; and my fortune impaired, and my conſtitution ſhattered, are, I muſt confeſs, the juſt puniſhment of my errors.

" Take warning then by them; chuſe your pleaſures for yourſelf, and do not let them be impoſed upon you. Follow nature, and not faſhion: weigh the preſent enjoyment of your pleaſures, againſt the neceſſary conſequences of them, and then let your own common ſenſe determine your choice.

" Were I to begin the world again, with the experience which I now have of it,

it, I would lead a life of real, not of imaginary pleaſure. I would enjoy the pleaſures of the table, and of wine; but ſtop ſhort of the pains inſeparably annexed to an exceſs in either. I would not, at twenty years, be a preaching miſſionary of abſtemiouſneſs and ſobriety; and I ſhould let other people do as they would, without formally and ſententiouſly rebuking them for it; but I would be moſt firmly reſolved, not to deſtroy my own faculties and conſtitution, in complaiſance to thoſe who have no regard to their own. I would play to give me pleaſure, but not to give me pain; that is, I would play for trifles, in mixed companies, to amuſe myſelf, and conform to cuſtom; but I would take care not to venture for ſums, which, if I won, I ſhould not be the better for; but, if I loſt, ſhould be under a difficulty to pay; and, when paid, would oblige me to retrench in ſeveral other articles. Not to mention the quarrels which deep play commonly occaſions.

"I would paſs ſome of my time in reading, and the reſt in the company of people of ſenſe and learning, and chiefly thoſe above me: and I would frequent the mixed companies of men and women of faſhion, which though often frivolous, yet they unbend and refreſh the mind, not

not uſeleſsly, becauſe they certainly poliſh and ſoften the manners.

"These would be my pleaſures and amuſements, if I were to live the laſt thirty years over again; they are rational ones; and moreover I will tell you, they are really the faſhionable ones: for the others are not, in truth, the pleaſures of what I call people of faſhion, but of thoſe who only call themſelves ſo. Does good company care to have a man reeling drunk among them? Or to ſee another tearing his hair, and blaſpheming, for having loſt, at play, more than he is able to pay? Or a whore-maſter with half a noſe, and crippled by coarſe and infamous debauchery? No; thoſe who practiſe, and much more thoſe who brag of them, make no part of good company; and are moſt unwillingly, if ever, admitted into it.

"A real man of faſhion and pleaſure obſerves decency; at leaſt, neither borrows nor affects vices; and, if he unfortunately has any, he gratifies them with choice, delicacy, and ſecrecy.

"I have not mentioned the pleaſures of the mind, (which are the ſolid and permanent ones) becauſe they do not come under the head of what people commonly call pleaſures; which they ſeem to confine to the ſenſes. The pleaſure of

virtue, of charity, and of learning, is true and laſting pleaſure; which I hope you will be well and long acquainted with.

Adieu."

The ſubject is continued in the following letter.

London, April 14th, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"If you feel half the pleaſure from the conſciouſneſs of doing well, that I do from the informations I have lately received in your favour from Mr. Harte, I ſhall have little occaſion to exhort or admoniſh you, any more, to do what your own ſatisfaction and ſelf-love will ſufficiently prompt you to. Mr. Harte tells me that you attend, that you apply to your ſtudies; and that, beginning to underſtand, you begin to taſte them. This pleaſure will increaſe, and keep peace with your attention; ſo that the balance will be greatly to your advantage. You may remember, that I have always earneſtly recommended to you, to do what you are about, be that what it will; and to do nothing elſe at the ſame time. Do not imagine, that I mean, by this, that you ſhould attend to, and plod at your book all day long; far from it: I mean that you ſhould have your pleaſures too; and

that you ſhould attend to them, for the time, as much as to your ſtudies; and, if you do not attend equally to both, you will neither have improvement or ſatisfaction from either.

"A man is fit for neither buſineſs nor pleaſure, who either cannot, or does not, command and direct his attention to the preſent object, and, in ſome degree, baniſh, for that time, all other objects from his thoughts. If at a ball, a ſupper, or a party of pleaſure, a man were to be ſolving, in his own mind, a problem in Euclid, he would be a very bad companion, and make a poor figure in that company; or if, in ſtudying a problem in his cloſet, he were to think of a minuet, I am apt to believe that he would make a very poor mathematician.

"There is time enough for every thing, in the courſe of the day, if you do but one thing at once; but there is not time enough in the year if you will do two things at a time. The Penſionary de Witt, who was torn to pieces in the year 1672, did the whole buſineſs of the Republic, and yet had time left to go to aſſemblies in the evening, and ſup in company. Being aſked, how he could poſſibly find time to go through ſo much buſineſs, and yet amuſe himſelf in the

evenings as he did? he anſwered, There was nothing ſo eaſy; for that it was only doing one thing at a time, and never putting off any thing till to-morrow, that could be done to-day.

"This ſteady and undiſſipated attention to one object, is a ſure mark of a ſuperior genius; as hurry, buſtle, and agitation, are the never-failing ſymptoms, of a weak and frivolous mind. When you read Horace, attend to the juſtneſs of his thoughts, the happineſs of his diction, and the beauty of his poetry; and do not think of Puffendorf *de Homine et Cive*: and, when you are reading Puffendorf, do not think of Madame de St. Germain; nor of Puffendorf, when you are talking to Madame de St. Germain."

It will be unneceſſary to make any apology for inſerting the following letter; for, though the precepts in it are few, it contains the names of ſeveral collections of letters, which will do more to form a perfect epiſtolary ſtile, than a volume on the ſubject of letter-writing: and his lordſhip's recommendation will certainly be of weight.

London, July 20th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" In your mamma's letter, which goes here encloſed, you will find one from my ſiſter, to thank you for the Arquebuſade water which you ſent her, and which ſhe takes very kindly. She would not ſhow me her letter to you; but told me, that it contained good wiſhes and good advice; and, as I know ſhe will ſhow your letter, in anſwer to her's, I ſend you here encloſed the draught of the letter which I would have you write to her. I hope you will not be offended at my offering you my aſſiſtance upon this occaſion: becauſe, I preſume, that as yet you are not much uſed to write to ladies.

" *A propos* of letter-writing; the beſt models that you can form yourſelf upon, are, Cicero, Cardinal d'Oſſat, Madame Sevigné, and Comte Buſſy Rabutin. Cicero's Epiſtles to Atticus, and to his familiar friends, are the beſt examples that you can imitate, in the friendly and the familiar ſtyle. The ſimplicity and clearneſs of Cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, ſhow how letters of buſineſs ought to be written: no affected turns, no attempt at wit, obſcure or perplex his matter; which is

always plainly and clearly ſtated, as buſineſs always ſhould be. For gay and amuſing letters, for *enjouëment* and *badinage*, there are none that equal Comte Buſſy's and Madame Sevigné's. They are ſo natural, that they ſeem to be the extempore converſations of two people of wit; rather than letters, which are commonly ſtudied, though they ought not to be ſo. I would adviſe you to let that book be one in your itinerant library; it will both amuſe and inform you.

"I have not time to add any more now; ſo good night."

This letter is upon lying; and from the deſcription of a vain liar, with which it concludes, it appears that his lordſhip would have excelled in comedy: for there is a particularity and truth in it, which is rarely found, even in writers of taſte and obſervation.

London, Sept. 21ſt, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"I do not wonder that you were ſurpriſed at the credulity and ſuperſtition of the papiſts at Einſiedlen, and at their abſurd ſtories of their chapel. But remember, at the ſame time, that errors and miſtakes, however groſs, in matters of

opinion, if they are ſincere, are to be pitied; but not puniſhed, nor laughed at. The blindneſs of the underſtanding is as much to be pitied, as the blindneſs of the eyes; and there is neither jeſt nor guilt in a man's loſing his way in either caſe. Charity bids us ſet him right, if we can, by arguments and perſuaſions; but charity, at the ſame time, forbids, either to puniſh or ridicule his misfortune. Every man's reaſon is, and muſt be, his guide; and I may as well expect, that every man ſhould be of my ſize and complexion, as that he ſhould reaſon juſt as I do. Every man ſeeks for truth; but God only knows who has found it. It is, therefore, as unjuſt to perſecute, as it is abſurd to ridicule people for thoſe ſeveral opinions which they cannot help entertaining upon the conviction of their reaſon. It is the man who tells, or who acts a lie, that is guilty, and not he who honeſtly and ſincerely believes the lie.

"I really know nothing more criminal, more mean, and more ridiculous, than lying. It is the production either of malice, cowardice, or vanity; and generally miſſes of its aim in every one of theſe views; for lies are always detected, ſooner or later. If I tell a malicious lie, in order to affect any man's fortune or charac-

ter,

ter, I may indeed injure him for ſome time; but I ſhall be ſure to be the greateſt ſufferer myſelf at laſt; for, as ſoon as ever I am detected (and detected I moſt certainly ſhall be) I am blaſted for the infamous attempt; and whatever is ſaid afterwards, to the diſadvantage of that perſon, however true, paſſes for calumny. If I lie, or equivocate, for it is the ſame thing, in order to excuſe myſelf of ſomething that I have ſaid or done, and to avoid the danger or the ſhame that I apprehend from it, I diſcover, at once, my fear, as well as my falſehood; and only increaſe, inſtead of avoiding, the danger and the ſhame; I ſhow myſelf to be the loweſt and the meaneſt of mankind, and am ſure to be always treated as ſuch.

"Fear, inſtead of avoiding, invites danger; for concealed cowards will inſult known ones. If one has had the misfortune to be in the wrong, there is ſomething noble in frankly owning it; it is the only way of attoning for it, and the only way of being forgiven. Equivocating, evading, ſhuffling, in order to remove a preſent danger or inconveniency, is ſomething ſo mean, and betrays ſo much fear, that whoever practiſes them, always deſerves to be, and often will be kicked.

" There is another ſort of lies, inoffenſive enough in themſelves, but wonderfully ridiculous; I mean thoſe lies which a miſtaken vanity ſuggeſts, that defeat the very end for which they are calculated, and terminate in the humiliation and confuſion of their author, who is ſure to be detected. Theſe are chiefly narrative and hiſtorical lies, all intended to do infinite honour to their author. He is always the hero of his own romances; he has been in dangers from which nobody but himſelf ever eſcaped; he has ſeen with his own eyes, whatever other people have heard or read of: he has had more *bonnes fortunes*, than ever he knew women; and has rid more miles poſt, in one day, than ever courier went in two. He is ſoon diſcovered, and as ſoon becomes the object of univerſal contempt and ridicule.—Remember then, as long as you live, that nothing but ſtrict truth can carry you through the world, with either your conſcience or your honour unwounded. It is not only your duty but your intereſt: as a proof of which, you may always obſerve, that the greateſt fools are the greateſt liars. For my own part, I judge of every man's truth by his degree of underſtanding. Adieu!"

In

In the following letter his lordſhip touches on that knowledge of the world, which he afterwards treats at ſo much length.

London, Oct. 2d, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" By your letter of the eighteenth paſt, N. S. I find that you are a tolerable good landſcape painter, and can preſent the ſeveral views of Switzerland to the curious. I am very glad of it, as it is a proof of ſome attention; but I hope you will be as good a portrait painter, which is a much more noble ſcience. By portraits, you will eaſily judge, that I do not mean the outlines and the colouring of the human figure; but the inſide of the heart and mind of man.

" This ſcience requires more attention, obſervation, and penetration, than the other; as indeed it is infinitely more uſeful. Search therefore, with the greateſt care, into the characters of all thoſe whom you converſe with; endeavour to diſcover their predominant paſſions, their prevailing weakneſſes, their vanities, their follies, and their humours; with all the right and wrong, wiſe and ſilly ſprings of human actions, which make ſuch incon-

ſiſtent and whimſical beings of us rational creatures. A moderate ſhare of penetration, with great attention, will infallibly make theſe neceſſary diſcoveries.

" This is the true knowledge of the world; and the world is a country which nobody ever yet knew by deſcription; one muſt travel through it one's ſelf to be acquainted with it. The ſcholar, who in the duſt of his cloſet talks or writes of the world, knows no more of it, than that orator did of war, who judiciouſly endeavoured to inſtruct Hannibal in it. Courts and camps are the only places to learn the world in. There alone all kinds of characters reſort, and human nature is ſeen in all the various ſhapes and modes, which education, cuſtom, and habit give it: whereas, in all other places, one local mode generally prevails, and produces a ſeeming, though not a real, ſameneſs of character. For example, one general mode diſtinguiſhes an univerſity, another a trading town, a third a ſea-port town, and ſo on; whereas at a capital, where the prince or the ſupreme pōwer reſides, ſome of all theſe various modes are to be ſeen, and ſeen in action too, exerting their utmoſt ſkill in purſuit of their ſeveral objects.

" Human

"Human nature is the ſame all over the world; but its operations are ſo varied by education and habit, that one muſt ſee it in all its dreſſes, in order to be intimately acquainted with it. The paſſion of ambition, for inſtance, is the ſame in a courtier, a ſoldier, or an eccleſiaſtic; but, from their different educations and habits, they will take very different methods to gratify it. Civility, which is a diſpoſition to accommodate and oblige others, is eſſentially the ſame in every country; but good-breeding, as it is called, which is the manner of exerting that diſpoſition, is different in almoſt every country, and merely local; and every man of ſenſe imitates and conforms to that local good-breeding of the place which he is at.—A conformity and flexibility of manners is neceſſary in the courſe of the world; that is, with regard to all things, which are not wrong in themſelves. The *verſatile ingenium* is the moſt uſeful of all. It can turn itſelf inſtantly from one object to another, aſſuming the proper manner for each. It can be ſerious with the grave, chearful with the gay, and trifling with the frivolous. Endeavour, by all means, to acquire this talent, for it is a very great one."

The ſubject of the world is continued in this letter, with ſome very deep and judicious obſervations with regard to company and friends.

London, Oct. 9th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" People of your age, have, commonly, an unguarded frankneſs about them; which makes them the eaſy prey and bubbles of the artful and the experienced: they look upon every knave, or fool, who tells them that he is their friend, to be really ſo; and pay that profeſſion of ſimulated friendſhip, with an indiſcreet and unbounded confidence, always to their loſs, often to their ruin. Beware, therefore, now that you are coming into the world, of theſe proffered friendſhips. Receive them with great civility, but with great incredulity too; and pay them with compliments, but not with confidence. Do not let your vanity, and ſelf-love, make you ſuppoſe that people become your friends at firſt ſight, or even upon a ſhort acquaintance. Real friendſhip is a ſlow grower; and never thrives, unleſs ingrafted upon a ſtock of known and reciprocal merit.

" There

" There is another kind of nominal friendſhip, among young people, which is warm for the time, but, by good luck, of ſhort duration. This friendſhip is haſtily produced, by their being accidentally thrown together, and purſuing the ſame courſe of riot and debauchery. A fine friendſhip, truly! and well cemented by drunkenneſs and lewdneſs. It ſhould rather be called a conſpiracy againſt morals and good manners, and be puniſhed as ſuch by the civil magiſtrate. However, they have the impudence, and the folly, to call this confederacy, a friendſhip. They lend one another money, for bad purpoſes; they engage in quarrels, offenſive and defenſive, for their accomplices; they tell one another all they know, and often more too; when, of a ſudden, ſome accident diſperſes them, and they think no more of each other, unleſs it be to betray and laugh at their imprudent confidence.

" Remember to make a great difference between companions and friends; for a very complaiſant and agreeable companion may, and often does, prove a very improper and a very dangerous friend. People will, in a great degree, and not without reaſon, form their opinion of you, upon that which they have of your friends;

and there is a Spaniſh proverb, which ſays, very juſtly, *tell me who you live with, and I will tell you who you are.* One may fairly ſuppoſe, that a man, who makes a knave or a fool his friend, has ſomething very bad to do, or to conceal. But, at the ſame time that you carefully decline the friendſhip of knaves and fools, if it can be called friendſhip, there is no occaſion to make either of them your enemies, wantonly, and unprovoked; for they are numerous bodies; and I would rather chuſe a ſecure neutrality, than alliance, or war, with either of them. You may be a declared enemy to their vices and follies, without being marked out by them as a perſonal one. Their enmity is the next dangerous thing to their friendſhip.—Have a real reſerve with almoſt every body; and have a ſeeming reſerve with almoſt nobody; for it is very diſagreeable to ſeem reſerved, and very dangerous not to be ſo. Few people find the true medium; many are ridiculouſly myſterious and reſerved upon trifles; and many imprudently communicative of all they know.

" The next thing to the choice of your friends, is the choice of your company. Endeavour, as much as you can, to keep company with people above you. There you

you riſe, as much as you ſink with people below you; for (as I have mentioned before) you are, whatever the company you keep is. Do not miſtake, when I ſay company above you, and think that I mean with regard to their birth; that is the leaſt conſideration: but I mean with regard to their merit, and the light in which the world conſiders them.

"There are two ſorts of good company; one, which is called the *beau monde*, and conſiſts of thoſe people who have the lead in courts, and in the gay part of life; the other conſiſts of thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiar merit, or who excel in ſome particular and valuable art or ſcience. For my own part, I uſed to think myſelf in company as much above me, when I was with Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Pope, as if I had been with all the princes in Europe. What I mean by low company, which ſhould by all means be avoided, is the company of thoſe, who, abſolutely inſignificant and contemptible in themſelves, think they are honoured by being in your company, and who flatter every vice and every folly you have, in order to engage you to converſe with them. The pride of being the firſt of the company, is but too common; but it is very ſilly, and very prejudicial. Nothing

in

in the world lets down a character more, than that wrong turn.

" You may poſſibly aſk me, whether a man has it always in his power to get into the beſt company? and how? I ſay, yes, he has, by deſerving it; provided he is but in circumſtances which enable him to appear upon the footing of a gentleman. Merit and good breeding will make their way every where. Knowledge will introduce him, and good breeding will endear him to the beſt companies; for, as I have often told you, politeneſs and good-breeding are abſolutely neceſſary to adorn any, or all other good qualities or talents. Without them, no knowledge, no perfection whatſoever, is ſeen in its beſt light. The ſcholar, without good-breeding, is a pedant; the philoſopher, a cynic; the ſoldier, a brute; and every man diſagreeable. Adieu!"

The following letter is a kind of epitome of that ſyſtem of breeding, which is afterwards treated ſo much at large. What his lordſhip ſays of women, with regard to flattery, is ſomewhat ſevere; but, I am afraid too juſt.

London,

London Oct. 16th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" The art of pleaſing is a very neceſſary one to poſſeſs; but a very difficult one to acquire. It can hardly be reduced to rules; and your own good ſenſe and obſervation will teach you more of it than I can. Do as you would be done by, is the ſureſt method that I know of pleaſing. Obſerve carefully what pleaſes you in others, and probably the ſame things in you will pleaſe others. If you are pleaſed with the complaiſance and attention of others to your humours, your taſtes, or your weakneſſes, depend upon it, the ſame complaiſance and attention, on your part, to theirs, will equally pleaſe them. Take the tone of the company, that you are in, and do not pretend to give it; be ſerious, gay, or even trifling, as you find the preſent humour of the company: this is an attention due from every individual to the majority."

This obſervation is excellent and univerſally applicable.

" Do not tell ſtories in company; there is nothing more tedious and diſagreeable: if by chance you know a very ſhort ſtory, and exceedingly applicable to the preſent

ſubject

ſubject of converſation, tell it in as few words as poſſible; and even then, throw out that you do not love to tell ſtories; but that the ſhortneſs of it tempted you. Of all things, baniſh the egotiſm out of your converſation, and never think of entertaining people with your own perſonal concerns, or private affairs; though they are intereſting to you, they are tedious and impertinent to every body elſe: beſides that, one cannot keep one's own private affairs too ſecret. Whatever you think your own excellencies may be, do not affectedly diſplay them in company; nor labour, as many people do, to give that turn to the converſation, which may ſupply you with an opportunity of exhibiting them. If they are real, they will infallibly be diſcovered, without your pointing them out yourſelf, and with much more advantage. Never maintain an argument with heat and clamour, though you think or know yourſelf to be in the right; but give your opinion modeſtly and cooly, which is the only way to convince; and, if that does not do, try to change the converſation, by ſaying, with good humour, 'We ſhall hardly con-'vince one another, nor is it neceſſary 'that we ſhould, ſo let us talk of ſome-'thing elſe.'

"Remember

" Remember that there is a local propriety to be obſerved in all companies; and that what is extremely proper in one company may be, and often is, highly improper in another.

" The jokes, the *bons mots*, the little adventures, which may do very well in one company, will ſeem flat and tedious, when related in another. The particular characters, the habits, the cant of one company may give merit to a word, or a geſture, which would have none at all if diveſted of thoſe accidental circumſtances. Here people very commonly err; and, fond of ſomething that has entertained them in one company, and in certain circumſtances, repeat it with emphaſis in another, where it is either inſipid, or, it may be, offenſive, by being ill-timed, or miſplaced. Nay, they often do it with this ſilly preamble; 'I will tell you an 'excellent thing;' or, 'I will tell you 'the beſt thing in the world.' This raiſes expectations, which, when abſolutely diſappointed, make the relator of this excellent thing look, very deſervedly, like a fool.

" If you would particularly gain the affection and friendſhip of particular people, whether men or women, endeavour to find out their predominant excellency, if

if they have one, and their prevailing weakneſs, which every body has; and do juſtice to the one, and ſometing more than juſtice to the other. Men have various objects in which they may excel, or at leaſt would be thought to excel; and, though they love to hear juſtice done to them, where they know that they excel, yet they are moſt and beſt flattered upon thoſe points where they wiſh to excel, and yet are doubtful whether they do or not. As for example: cardinal Richlieu, who was undoubtedly the ableſt ſtateſman of his time, or perhaps of any other, had the idle vanity of being thought the beſt poet too; he envied the great Corneille his reputation, and ordered a criticiſm to be written upon the Cid. Thoſe, therefore, who flattered ſkilfully, ſaid little to him of his abilities in ſtate affairs, or at leaſt but *en paſſant*, and as it might naturally occur. But the incenſe which they gave him, the ſmoke of which, they knew, would turn his head in their favour, was as a *bel eſprit* and a poet. Why? Becauſe he was ſure of one excellency, and diſtruſtful as to the other.

"You will eaſily diſcover every man's prevailing vanity, by obſerving his favourite topic of converſation; for every man talks moſt of what he has moſt a mind

mind to be thought to excel in. Touch him but there, and you touch him to the quick. The late Sir Robert Walpole, (who was certainly an able man) was little open to flattery upon that head; for he was in no doubt himſelf about it; but his prevailing weakneſs was, to be thought to have a polite and happy turn to gallantry; of which he had undoubtedly leſs than any man living: it was his favourite and frequent ſubject of converſation; which proved, to thoſe who had any penetration, that it was his prevailing weakneſs. And they applied to it with ſucceſs.

"Women have, in general, but one object, which is their beauty; upon which, ſcarce any flattery is too groſs for them to ſwallow. Nature has hardly formed a woman ugly enough, to be inſenſible to flattery upon her perſon; if her face is ſo ſhocking, that ſhe muſt, in ſome degree, be conſcious of it, her figure and her air, ſhe truſts, make ample amends for it. If her figure is deformed, her face, ſhe thinks, counterbalances it. If they are both bad, ſhe comforts herſelf, that ſhe has graces; a certain manner; a *je ne ſçais quoi*, ſtill more engaging than beauty. This truth is evident, from the ſtudied and elaborate dreſs of the ugliеſt

women

women in the world. An undoubted, unconteſted, conſcious beauty, is, of all women, the leaſt ſenſible of flattery upon that head; ſhe knows it is her due, and is therefore obliged to nobody for giving it her. She muſt be flattered upon her underſtanding; which, though ſhe may poſſibly not doubt of herſelf, yet ſhe ſuſpects that men may diſtruſt.

" Do not miſtake me, and think that I mean to recommend to you abject and criminal flattery: no; flatter nobody's vices or crimes: on the contrary, abhor and diſcourage them. But there is no living in the world without a complaiſant indulgence for people's weakneſſes, and innocent, though ridiculous vanities. If a man has a mind to be thought wiſer, and a woman handſomer, than they really are, their error is a comfortable one to themſelves, and an innocent one with regard to other people; and I would rather make them my friends, by indulging them in it, than my enemies, by endeavouring (and that to no purpoſe) to undeceive them.

" There are little attentions, likewiſe, which are infinitely engaging, and which ſenſibly affect that degree of pride and ſelf-love, which is inſeparable from human

man nature; as they are unqueſtionable proofs of the regard and conſideration which we have for the perſons to whom we pay them. As for example; to obſerve the little habits, the likings, the antipathies, and the taſtes of thoſe whom we would gain; and then take care to provide them with the one, and to ſecure them from the other; giving them, genteely, to underſtand, that you had obſerved they liked ſuch a diſh, or ſuch a room; for which reaſon you had prepared it: or, on the contrary, that having obſerved they had an averſion to ſuch a diſh, a diſlike to ſuch a perſon, *&c.* you had taken care to avoid preſenting them. Such attention, to ſuch trifles, flatters ſelf-love much more than greater things, as it makes people think themſelves almoſt the only objects of your thoughts and care.

"Theſe are ſome of the arcana's neceſſary for your initiation in the great ſociety of the world. I wiſh I had known them better, at your age; I have paid the price of three-and-fifty years for them, and ſhall not grudge it, if you reap the advantage. Adieu."

The earl of Cheſterfield writes ſeveral other letters to his ſon before his reſignation;

tion; but, as they contain nothing intereſting, I ſhall not trouble the reader with them, but proceed to the general ſyſtem.

CHAP. VI.

His Lordſhip reſigns the Secretaryſhip, and reſolves on a life of Retirement. The ſecond Part of the Syſtem of Education, delivered in a ſeries of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Obſervations.

The earl of Cheſterfield, finding his health declining, reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate (which he had exerciſed with equal integrity and ability) on the ſixth day of February, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight. He gives the following account of his reſignation, and his reaſons for it, in a letter to his ſon.

London Feb. 9th, O. S. 1748.

" DEAR BOY,

" YOU will receive this letter, not from a ſecretary of ſtate, but from a private man; for whom, at his time of life, quiet was as fit, and as neceſſary, as labour and activity are for you at your age, and for many years ſtill to come.

come. I reſigned the ſeals, laſt Saturday, to the King; who parted with me moſt graciouſly, and (I may add, for he ſaid ſo himſelf) with regret. As I retire from hurry to quiet, and to enjoy, at my eaſe, the comforts of private and ſocial life, you will eaſily imagine that I have no thoughts of oppoſition, or meddling with buſineſs. *Otium cum dignitate*, is my object. The former I now enjoy; and I hope that my conduct and character entitle me to ſome ſhare of the latter. In ſhort, I am now happy; and I found that I could not be ſo in my former public ſituation.

" As I like your correſpondence better than that of all the kings, princes, and miniſters in Europe, I ſhall now have leiſure to carry it on more regularly. My letters to you will be written, I am ſure, by me, and, I hope, read by you, with pleaſure; which, I believe, ſeldom happens, reciprocally, to letters written from and to a ſecretary's office.

" Do not apprehend that my retirement from buſineſs may be a hindrance to your advancement in it, at a proper time; on the contrary, it will promote it: for, having nothing to aſk for myſelf, I ſhall have the better title to aſk for you. But you have ſtill a ſurer way than this of

riſing

riſing, and which is wholly in your own power. Make yourſelf neceſſary; which, with your natural parts, you may, by application, do. We are in geneal, in England, ignorant of foreign affairs; and of the intereſts, views, pretenſions and policy of other courts. That part of knowledge never enters into our thoughts, nor makes part of our education; for which reaſon, we have fewer proper ſubjects for foreign commiſſions, than any other country in Europe; and, when foreign affairs happen to be debated in parliament, it is incredible with how much ignorance. The harveſt of foreign affairs being then ſo great, and the labourers ſo few, if you make yourſelf maſter of them, you will make yourſelf neceſſary; firſt as a foreign, and then as a domeſtic miniſter for that department.

" I am extremely well pleaſed with the account which you give me, of the allotment of your time. Do but go on ſo, for two years longer, and I will aſk no more of you. Your labours will be their own reward; but if you deſire any other, that I can add, you may depend upon it.

" I am glad that you perceive the indecency and turpitude of thoſe of your *commenſaux*, who diſgrace and foul themſelves with

with dirty w—·s and ſcoundrel gameſters. And the light in which, I am ſure, you ſee all reaſonable and decent people conſider them, will be a good warning to you.

Adieu."

The following letter is a ſequel to the former: it ſhews us his lordſhip ſettled in retirement, and concludes with ſome of thoſe inſtructions, which are afterwards carried on without interruption, and which form a moſt elegant ſyſtem of morals and manners.

Bath, Feb. 16th, O. S. 1748.

" DEAR BOY,

" The firſt uſe that I made of my liberty, was to come here, where I arrived yeſterday. My health, though not fundamentally bad, yet, for want of proper attention of late, wanted ſome repairs, which theſe waters never fail giving it. I ſhall drink them a month, and return to London, there to enjoy the comforts of ſocial life, inſtead of groaning under the load of buſineſs. I have given the deſcription of the life that I propoſe to lead for the future, in this motto, which I have put up in the frize of my library in my new houſe;

Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno, et inertibus horis
Ducere ſollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.

I muſt obſerve to you, upon this occaſion, that the uninterrupted ſatisfaction which I expect to find in that library, will be chiefly owing to my having employed ſome part of my life, well at your age. I wiſh I had employed it better, and my ſatisfaction would now be complete; but, however, I planted, while young, that degree of knowledge which is now my refuge and my ſhelter. Make your plantations ſtill more extenſive, they will more than pay you for your trouble.

" I do not regret the time that I paſſed in pleaſures; they were reaſonable, they were the pleaſures of youth, and I enjoyed them while young. If I had not, I ſhould probably have overvalued them now, as we are very apt to do what we do not know: but, knowing them as I do, I know their real value, and how much they are generally over-rated. Nor do I regret the time that I have paſſed in buſineſs, for the ſame reaſon; thoſe who ſee only the outſide of it, imagine that it has hidden charms, which they pant after; and nothing but acquaintance can undeceive them. I, who have been behind

the

the ſcenes, both of pleaſure and buſineſs, and have ſeen all the ſprings and pullies of thoſe decorations which aſtoniſh and dazzle the audience, retire, not only without regret, but with contentment and ſatisfaction. But what I do, and ever ſhall regret, is the time which, while young, I loſt in mere idleneſs, and in doing nothing. This is the common effect of the inconſideracy of youth, againſt which I beg you will be moſt carefully upon your guard. The value of moments, when caſt up, is immenſe, if well employed; if thrown away, their loſs is irrecoverable. Every moment may be put to ſome uſe, and that with much more pleaſure than if unemployed.

"Do not imagine, that, by the employment of time, I mean an uninterrupted application to ſerious ſtudies. No; pleaſures are, at proper times, both as neceſſary and as uſeful: they faſhion and form you for the world; they teach you characters, and ſhew you the human heart in its unguarded minutes. But then remember to make that uſe of them. I have known many people, from lazineſs of mind, go thorough both pleaſure and buſineſs, with equal inattention; neither enjoying the one, nor doing the other: thinking themſelves men of pleaſure, be-

cauſe they were mingled with thoſe who were, and men of buſineſs becauſe they had buſineſs to do, though they did not do it. Whatever you do, do it to the purpoſe; do it thoroughly, not ſuperficially. *Approfondiſſez*; go to the bottom of things. Any thing half done, or half known, is, in my mind, neither done nor known at all. Nay worſe, for it often miſleads. There is hardly any place, or any company, where, you may not gain knowledge, if you pleaſe; almoſt every body knows ſome one thing, and is glad to talk upon that one thing. Seek and you will find, in this world as well as in the next. See every thing, inquire into every thing; and you may excuſe your curioſity, and the queſtions you aſk, which otherwiſe might be thought impertinent, by your manner of aſking them; for moſt things depend a great deal upon the manner. As for example; *I am afraid that I am very troubleſ me with my queſtions; but nobody can inform me ſo well as you*; or ſomething of that kind.

"Now, that you are in a Lutherian country, go to their churches, and obſerve the manner of their public worſhip; attend to their ceremonies, and inquire the meaning and intention of every one of them. And, as you will ſoon underſtand

German

German well enough, attend to their ſermons, and obſerve their manner of preaching. Inform yourſelf of their church-government; whether it reſides in the ſovereign, or in conſiſtories and ſynods. Whence ariſes the maintenance of their clergy; whether from tythes, as in England, or from voluntary contributions, or from penſions from the ſtate. Do the ſame thing when you are in Roman Catholic countries; go to their churches, ſee all their ceremonies; aſk the meaning of them, get the terms explained to you. As for inſtance; prime, tierce, ſexte, nones, mattins, angelus, high maſs, veſpers, complies, *&c.* Inform yourſelf of their ſeveral religious orders, their founders, their rules, their vows, their habits, their revenues, *&c.* But when you frequent places of public worſhip, as I would have you go to all the different ones you meet with, remember, that, however erroneous, they are none of them objects of laughter and ridicule. Honeſt error is to be pitied, not ridiculed. The object of all the public worſhips in the world is the ſame; it is that great eternal Being, who created every thing. The different manners of worſhip are by no means ſubjects of ridicule. Each ſect thinks its own the beſt;

and I know no infallible judge, in this world, to decide which is the beſt.

"Make the ſame inquiries, wherever you are, concerning the revenues, the military eſtabliſhment, the trade, the commerce, and the police of every country. And you would do well to keep a blank paper book, which the Germans call an *Album*; and there, inſtead of deſiring, as they do, every fool they meet with to ſcribble ſomething, write down all theſe things, as ſoon as they come to your knowledge from good authorities.

"I had almoſt forgotten one thing, which I would recommend as an object for your curioſity and information, that is the adminiſtration of juſtice; which, as it is always carried on in open court, you may, and I would have you, go and ſee it, with attention and inquiry."

Having mentioned religion ſlightly in his laſt, his lordſhip next touches on morals, and illuſtrates, in great learning, the danger of exceſs, even in the beſt things.

"Every excellency, and every virtue," obſerves he, "has its kindred vice or weakneſs; and, if carried beyond certain bounds, ſinks into the one or the other. Generoſity often runs into profuſion, œconomy into avarice, courage into raſhneſs, caution into timidity, and ſo on:—inſomuch

much that, I believe, there is more judgment required, for the proper conduct of our virtues, than for avoiding their oppoſite vices. Vice, in its true light, is ſo deformed, that it ſhocks us at firſt ſight; and would hardly ever ſeduce us, if it did not, at firſt, wear the maſk of ſome virtue. But virtue is, in itſelf, ſo beautiful, that it charms us at firſt ſight; engages us more and more, upon further acquaintance; and, as with other beauties, we think exceſs impoſſible: it is here that judgment is neceſſary, to moderate and direct the effects of an excellent cauſe. I ſhall apply this reaſoning, at preſent, not to any particular virtue, but to an excellency, which, for want of judgment, is often the cauſe of ridiculous and blameable effects; I mean, great learning, which, if not accompanied with ſound judgment, frequently carries us into error, pride, and pedantry. As, I hope, you will poſſeſs that excellency in its utmoſt extent, and yet without its too common failings, the hints, which my experience can ſuggeſt, may, probably, not be uſeleſs to you.

" Some learned men, proud of their knowledge, only ſpeak to decide, and give judgment without appeal. The conſequence of which is, that mankind, provoked by the inſult, and injured by the

oppreſſion, revolt; and, in order to ſhake off the tyranny, even call the lawful authority in queſtion. The more you know, the modeſter you ſhould be: and, (by the bye) that modeſty is the ſureſt way of gratifying your vanity. Even where you are ſure, ſeem rather doubtful: repreſent, but do not pronounce; and, if you would convince others, ſeem open to conviction yourſelf.

"Others, to ſhow their learning, or often from the prejudices of a ſchool-education, where they hear of nothing elſe, are always talking of the Ancients, as ſomething more than men, and of the Moderns as ſomething leſs. They are never without a claſſic or two in their pockets; they ſtick to the old good ſenſe; they read none of the modern traſh; and will ſhow you plainly, that no improvement has been made, in any one art or ſcience, theſe laſt ſeventeen hundred years. I would by no means have you diſown your acquaintance with the Ancients; but ſtill leſs would I have you brag of an excluſive intimacy with them. Speak of the Moderns without contempt, and of the Ancients without idolatry; judge them all by their merits, but not by their ages; and, if you happen to have an Elzevir claſſic

claſſic in your pocket, neither ſhow it nor mention it.

" Some great ſcholars, moſt abſurdly, draw all their maxims, both for public and private life, from what they call parallel caſes in the ancient authors; without conſidering, that, in the firſt place, there never were, ſince the creation of the world, two caſes exactly parallel: and, in the next place, that there never was a caſe ſtated, or even known, by any hiſtorian, with every one of its circumſtances; which, however, ought to be known, in order to be reaſoned from. Reaſon upon the caſe itſelf, and the ſeveral circumſtances that attend it, and act accordingly; but not from the authority of ancient poets or hiſtorians. Take into your conſideration, if you pleaſe, caſes ſeemingly analogous; but take them as helps only, not as guides. We are really ſo prejudiced by our educations; that, as the ancients deified their heroes, we deify their madmen: of which, with all due regard to antiquity, I take Leonidas and Curtius to have been two diſtinguiſhed ones. And yet a ſolid pedant would, in a ſpeech in parliament, relative to a tax of two-pence in the pound, upon ſome commodity or other, quote thoſe two heroes, as examples of what we ought to do, and ſuffer for

our country. I have known theſe abſurdities carried ſo far, by people of injudicious learning, that I ſhould not be ſurprized, if ſome of them were to propoſe, while we are at war with the Gauls, that a number of geeſe ſhould be kept in the tower, upon account of the infinite advantage which Rome received, *in a parallel caſe*, from a certain number of geeſe in the Capitol. This way of reaſoning, and this way of ſpeaking, will always form a poor politician, and a puerile declaimer.

" There is another ſpecies of learned men, who, though leſs dogmatical and ſupercilious, are not leſs impertinent. Theſe are the communicative and ſhining pedants, who adorn their converſation, even with women, by happy quotations of Greek and Latin, and who have contracted ſuch a familiarity with the Greek and Roman authors, that they call them by certain names or epithets denoting intimacy. As *old* Homer; that *ſly rogue* Horace; *Maro*, inſtead of Virgil; and *Naſo*, inſtead of Ovid. Theſe are often imitated by coxcombs, who have no learning at all; but who have got ſome names, and ſome ſcraps of ancient authors by heart, which they improperly and impertinently retail in all companies, in hopes

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of paſſing for ſcholars. If, therefore, you would avoid the accuſation of pedantry, on one hand, or the ſuſpicion of ignorance, on the other, abſtain from learned oſtentation. Speak the language of the company that you are in; ſpeak it purely, and unlarded with any other. Never ſeem wiſer, nor more learned, than the people you are with. Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket; and do not pull it out, and ſtrike it, merely to ſhow that you have one. If you are aſked what o'clock it is, tell it; but do not proclaim it hourly and unaſked, like the watchman."

Theſe precepts are certainly excellent: but, ſince his lordſhip ſaw the propriety of ſpeaking the language of the *company* one is in pure, and *unlarded* with any other, is it not ſurpriſing that he ſhould lard the language of his country ſo much in all his writings!—Would it not have been more to his honour, to have choſen the happieſt phraſes our language afforded; and, where theſe failed, to have introduced others, without a foreign idiom?

Not ſatisfied, like ſome people, with ſhewing the wrong ſide of things, as if nothing more were neceſſary to make the right agreeable, his lordſhip enforces politeneſs by argument.

" I muſt, from time to time, remind you," ſays he, " to *ſacrifice to the Graces.* The different effects of the ſame things, ſaid or done, when accompanied or abandoned by them, is almoſt inconceivable. They prepare the way to the heart; and the heart has ſuch an influence over the underſtanding, that it is worth while to engage it in our intereſt. It is the whole of women, who are guided by nothing elſe; and it has ſo much to ſay, even with men, and the ableſt men too, that it commonly triumphs in every ſtruggle with the underſtanding.

" Monſieur de Rochefoucault, in his maxims, ſays, that *l'eſprit eſt ſouvent la dupe du cœur.* If he had ſaid, inſtead of *ſouvent*, *preſque toujours*, I fear he would have been nearer the truth. This being the caſe, aim at the heart. Intrinſic merit alone will not do: it will gain you the general eſteem of all; but not the particular affection, that is the heart of any. To engage the affection of any particular perſon, you muſt, over and above your general merit, have ſome particular merit to that perſon; by ſervices done, or offered; by expreſſions of regard and eſteem; by complaiſance, attentions, &c. for him; and the graceful manner of doing all theſe things opens their way to

the heart, and facilitates, or rather inſures, their effects.

" From your own obſervation, reflect what a diſagreeable impreſſion an awkward addreſs, a ſlovenly figure, an ungraceful manner of ſpeaking, whether ſtuttering, muttering, monotony, or drawling; an unattentive behaviour, &c. make upon you, at firſt ſight, in a ſtranger, and how they prejudice you againſt him, though, for ought you know, he may have great intrinſic ſenſe and merit. And reflect, on the other hand, how much the oppoſites of all theſe things prepoſſeſs you, at firſt ſight, in favour of thoſe who enjoy them. You wiſh to find all good qualities in them, and are in ſome degree diſappointed if you do not.

A thouſand little things, not ſeparately to be defined, conſpire to form theſe graces, this *je ne ſçais quoi*, that always pleaſe. A pretty perſon, genteel motions, a proper degree of dreſs, an harmonious voice, ſomething open and chearful in the countenance, but without laughing; a diſtinct and properly varied manner of ſpeaking: all theſe things, and many others, are neceſſary ingredients in the compoſition of the pleaſing *je ne ſçais quoi*, which every body feels, though no body can deſcribe. Obſerve carefully, then, what

what diſpleaſes or pleaſes you, in others; and be perſuaded, that, in general, the ſame things will pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, in you."

Theſe obſervations are truly valuable; but the following, with regard to laughter, ſeem rather finical: they let us, however, into a curious particular in his lordſhip's character.

"Having mentioned laughing, I muſt particularly warn you againſt it: and I could heartily wiſh, that you may often be ſeen to ſmile, but never heard to laugh, while you live. Frequent and loud laughter is the characteriſtic of folly and ill manners: it is the manner in which the mob expreſs their ſilly joy, at ſilly things; and they call it being merry. In my mind, there is nothing ſo illiberal, and ſo ill-bred, as audible laughter. True wit, or ſenſe, never yet made any body laugh; they are above it: they pleaſe the mind, and give a chearfulneſs to the countenance. But it is low buffoonery, or ſilly accidents, that always excite laughter; and that is what people of ſenſe and breeding ſhould ſhow themſelves above. A man's going to ſit down, in the ſuppoſition that he has a chair behind him, and falling down upon his breech for want of one, ſets a whole company a laughing, when

when all the wit in the world would not do it; a plain proof, in my mind, how low and unbecoming a thing laughter is. Not to mention the diſagreeable noiſe that it makes, and the ſhocking diſtortion of the face that it occaſions. Laughter is eaſily reſtrained, by a very little reflection; but, as it is generally connected with the idea of gaiety, people do not enough attend to its abſurdity. I am neither of a melancholy, nor a cynical diſpoſition; and am as willing, and as apt to be pleaſed as any body; but I am ſure that, ſince I have had the full uſe of my reaſon, nobody has ever heard me laugh."

The remark that follows is of more conſequence.

" Many people, at firſt from awkwardneſs and *mauvaiſe honte*, have got a very diſagreeable and ſilly trick of laughing, whenever they ſpeak: and I know a man of very good parts, Mr. Waller, who cannot ſay the commoneſt thing without laughing; which makes thoſe, who do not know him, take him at firſt for a natural fool. This and many other very diſagreeable habits, are owing to *mauvaiſe honte* at their firſt ſetting out in the world. They are aſhamed in company, and ſo diſconcerted, that they do not know what they do, and try a thouſand tricks to keep

keep themſelves in countenance; which tricks afterwards grow habitual to them. Some put their fingers in their noſe, others ſcratch their head, others twirl their hats; in ſhort, every awkward, ill-bred body has his trick. But the frequency does not juſtify the thing; and all theſe vulgar habits and awkwardneſs, though not criminal indeed, are moſt carefully to be guarded againſt, as they are great bars in the way of the art of pleaſing."

The earl of Cheſterfield next recommends to his ſon ſuch books as are neceſſary to lay the foundation of political knowledge, and gives him ſome rules for the ſtudy of Modern Hiſtory; in which he diſcovers much learning and political diſcernment.

"I am pleaſed to find,"—ſays he,—"that you have read with attention Caillieres, Pequet, and Richelieu's Letters. The Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, will both entertain and inſtruct you; they relate to a very intereſting period of the French hiſtory, the miniſtry of Cardinal Mazarin, during the minority of Lewis XIV. The characters of all the conſiderable people of that time are drawn, in a ſhort, ſtrong, and maſterly manner; and the political reflections, which are moſt of them printed in Italics, are the juſteſt

that

that ever I met with; they are not the laboured reflections of a ſyſtematical cloſet politician, who, without the leaſt experience of buſineſs, ſits at home and writes maxims; but they are the reflections which a great and able man formed, from long experience, and practice, in great buſineſs. They are true concluſions, drawn from facts, not from ſpeculations.

"As Modern Hiſtory is particularly your buſineſs, I will give you ſome rules to direct your ſtudy of it. It begins, properly, with Charlemagne, in the year 800. But as, in thoſe times of ignorance, the prieſts and monks were almoſt the only people that could or did write, we have ſcarcely any hiſtories of thoſe times but ſuch as they have been pleaſed to give us; which are compounds of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and party zeal. So that a general notion of what is rather ſuppoſed, than really known to be, the hiſtory of the five or ſix following centuries, ſeems to be ſufficient: and much time would be but ill employed in a minute attention to thoſe legends. But reſerve your utmoſt care, and moſt diligent inquiries, for the fifteenth century, and downwards. Then learning began to revive, and credible hiſtories to be written; Europe began to take the form, which, to ſome degree,

it

it ſtill retains, at leaſt the foundations of the preſent great powers of Europe were then laid. Lewis the Eleventh made France, in truth, a monarchy, or, as he uſed to ſay himſelf, *la mit hors de Page.* Before his time, there were independent provinces in France, as the Dutchy of Brittany, &c. whoſe princes tore it to pieces, and kept it in conſtant domeſtic confuſion. Lewis the Eleventh reduced all theſe petty States, by fraud, force, or marriage: for he ſcrupled no means to obtain his ends.

" About that time, Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Iſabella his wife, queen of Caſtile, united the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and drove the Moors out of Spain, who had till then kept poſſeſſion of Granada. About that time too, the Houſe of Auſtria laid the great foundations of its ſubſequent power; firſt, by the marriage of Maximilian with the heireſs of Burgundy; and then, by the marriage of his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, with Jane, the daughter of Iſabella, queen of Spain, and heireſs of that whole kingdom, and of the Weſt Indies. By the firſt of theſe marriages, the Houſe of Auſtria acquired the ſeventeen provinces; and by the latter, Spain and America; all which centered in the perſon of Charles the Fifth, ſon of the above-

mentioned archduke, Philip, the ſon of Maximilian. It was upon account of theſe two marriages, that the following Latin diſtich was made:

Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Auſtria nube,
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

"This immenſe power, which the Emperor Charles the Fifth found himſelf poſſeſſed of, gave him a deſire for univerſal power, (for people never deſire all till they have gotten a great deal) and alarmed France: this ſowed the ſeeds of that jealouſy and enmity, which have flouriſhed ever ſince, between thoſe two great powers. Afterwards the Houſe of Auſtria was weakened by the diviſion made by Charles the Fifth of its dominions, between his ſon, Philip the Second of Spain, and his brother Ferdinand; and has ever ſince been dwindling to the weak condition in which it now is. This is a moſt intereſting part of the hiſtory of Europe, of which it is moſt abſolutely neceſſary that you ſhould be exactly and minutely informed."

Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles V. yields all the information relative to this period that can be deſired.

"There are," continues he, "in the hiſtory of moſt countries, certain very remarkable æras, which deſerve more particular

inquiry and attention than the common run of hiſtory. Such is the revolt of the ſeventeen provinces; in the reign of Philip the Second of Spain; which ended in forming the preſent Republic of the ſeven United Provinces; whoſe independency was firſt allowed by Spain at the treaty of Munſter. Such was the extraordinary revolution of Portugal, in the year 1640, in favour of the preſent Houſe of Braganza. Such is the famous revolution of Sweden, when Chriſtian the Second of of Denmark, who was alſo king of Sweden, was driven out by Guſtavus Vaſa. And ſuch, alſo, is that memorable æra in Denmark, of 1660; when the States of that kingdom made a voluntary ſurrender of all their rights and liberties to the crown; and changed that free ſtate into the moſt abſolute monarchy now in Europe. The *Acta Regia*, upon that occaſion, are worth your peruſing These remarkable periods of Modern Hiſtory deſerve your particular attention, and moſt of them have been treated ſingly by good hiſtorians, which are worth your reading.

" The revolutions of Sweden, and of Portugal, are moſt admirably well written, by L'Abbé de Vertot; they are ſhort, and will not take twelve hours reading. There is another book which very well deſerves your looking into, but not worth

your buying at preſent, becauſe it is not portable: if you can borrow, or hire it, you ſhould; and that is, *L'Hiſtorie des Traités de Paix*, in two volumes, folio, which make part of the *Corps Diplomatique*. You will there find a ſhort and clear hiſtory, and the ſubſtance of every treaty made in Europe, during the laſt century, from the treaty of Vervins. Three parts in four of this book are not worth your reading, as they relate to treaties of very little importance; but if you ſelect the moſt conſiderable ones, read them with attention, and take ſome notes, it will be of great uſe to you. Attend chiefly to thoſe in which the great powers of Europe are the parties; ſuch as the treaty of the Pyrenées, between France and Spain; the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryſwick: but, above all, the treaty of Munſter ſhould be moſt circumſtantially and minutely known to you, as almoſt every treaty made ſince has ſome reference to it. For this, Pere Bougeant is the beſt book you can read, as it takes in the thirty years war, which preceded that treaty. The treaty itſelf, which is made a perpetual law of the empire, comes in the courſe of your lectures upon the *Jus Publicum Imperii.*"

His

His lordſhip, in the courſe of his hiſtorical remarks, proceeds next to ſpeak of the Reformation.

" You have, doubtleſs,"—ſays he,—" conſidered the cauſes of that great event, and obſerved, that diſappointment and reſentment had a much greater ſhare in it, than a religious zeal, or an abhorrence of the errors and abuſes of Popery.

" Luther, an Auguſtin Monk, enraged that his order, and conſequently himſelf, had not the excluſive privilege of ſelling indulgences, but that the Dominicans were let into a ſhare of that profitable but infamous trade, turns reformer, and exclaims againſt the abuſes, the corruption, and the idolatry, of the church of Rome; which were certainly groſs enough for him to have ſeen long before, but which he had at leaſt acquieſced in, till what he called the rights, that is the profit, of his order, came to be touched. It is true, the church of Rome furniſhed him ample matter for complaint and reformation, and he laid hold of it ably. This ſeems to me the true cauſe of that great and neceſſary work: but, whatever the cauſe was, the effect was good: and the reformation ſpread itſelf by its own truth and fitneſs; was conſcientiouſly received by great numbers in Germany, and other

countries; and was ſoon afterwards mixed up with the politics of princes: and, as it always happens in religious diſputes, became the ſpecious covering of injuſtice and ambition.

"Under the pretence of cruſhing Hereſy, as it was called, the Houſe of Auſtria meant to extend and eſtabliſh its power in the empire: as, on the other hand, many Proteſtant princes, under the pretence of extirpating idolatry, or, at leaſt, of ſecuring toleration, meant only to enlarge their own dominions or privileges. Theſe views reſpectively, among the chiefs on both ſides, much more than true religious motives, continued what were called the religious wars, in Germany, almoſt uninterruptedly, till the affairs of the two religions were finally ſettled by the treaty of Munſter."

This account of the Reformation is ſomewhat ſevere, but certainly juſt. He continues his hiſtorical obſervations with a true philoſophical ſpirit.

"Were moſt hiſtorical events traced up to their true cauſes, I fear we ſhould not find them much more noble, nor diſintereſted, than Luther's diſappointed avarice; and therefore I look with ſome contempt upon thoſe refining and ſagacious hiſtorians, who aſcribe all, even the moſt common

common events, to ſome deep political cauſe; whereas mankind is made up of inconſiſtencies, and no man acts invariably up to his predominant character. The wiſeſt man ſometimes acts weakly, and the weakeſt ſometimes wiſely. Our jarring paſſions, our variable humours, nay our greater or leſſer degree of health and ſpirits, produce ſuch contradictions in our conduct, that, I believe, thoſe are the oftenest miſtaken, who aſcribe our actions to the moſt ſeemingly obvious motives: and I am convinced, that a light ſupper, a good night's ſleep, and a fine morning, have ſometimes made a hero, of the ſame man, who, by an indigeſtion, a reſtleſs night, and a rainy morning, would have proved a coward. Our beſt conjectures, therefore, as to the true ſprings of actions, are but very uncertain; and the actions themſelves are all that we muſt pretend to know from hiſtory. That Cæſar was murdered by twenty-three conſpirators, I make no doubt; but I very much doubt, that their love of liberty, and of their country, was their ſole, or even principal motive; and I dare ſay that, if the truth were known, we ſhould find that many other motives, at leaſt concurred, even in the great Brutus himſelf; ſuch as pride, envy, perſonal pique,

and

and diſappointment. Nay, I cannot help carrying my Pyrrhoniſm ſtill further, and extending it often to hiſtorical facts themſelves, at leaſt to moſt of the circumſtances with which they are related; and every day's experience confirms me in this hiſtorical incredulity. Do we ever hear the moſt recent fact related exactly in the ſame way, by the ſeveral people who were at the ſame time eye-witneſſes of it? No. One miſtakes, another miſrepreſents; and others warp it a little to their own turn of mind, or private views. A man, who has been concerned in a tranſaction, will not write it fairly; and a man who has not, cannot.

"But, notwithſtanding all this uncertainty, hiſtory is not the leſs neceſſary to be known; as the beſt hiſtories are taken for granted, and are the frequent ſubjects both of converſation and writing. Though I am convinced that Ceſar's ghoſt never appeared to Brutus, yet I ſhould be much aſhamed to be ignorant of that fact, as related by the hiſtorians of thoſe times. Thus the Pagan theology is univerſally received as matter for writing and converſation, though believed now by nobody; and we talk of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, &c. as Gods, though we know, that, if they ever exiſted at all, it was

only as mere mortal men. This hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm, then, proves nothing againſt the ſtudy and knowledge of hiſtory; which, of all other ſtudies, is the moſt neceſſary, for a man who is to live in the world. It only points out to us, not to be too deciſive and peremptory; and to be cautious how we draw inferences, for our own practice, from remote facts, partially or ignorantly related; of which we can, at beſt, but imperfectly gueſs, and certainly not know the real motives.

" The teſtimonies of Ancient Hiſtory muſt neceſſarily be weaker than thoſe of Modern, as all teſtimony grows weaker and weaker, as it is more and more remote from us. I would therefore adviſe you to ſtudy Ancient Hiſtory in general, as other people do; that is, not to be ignorant of any of thoſe facts which are univerſally received, upon the faith of the beſt hiſtorians; and, whether true or falſe, you have them as other people have them. But Modern Hiſtory, I mean particularly that of the three laſt centuries, is what I would have you apply to with the greateſt attention and exactneſs. There the probability of coming at the truth is much greater, as the teſtimonies are much more recent; beſides, anecdotes, memoirs, and

original

original letters, often come to the aid of Modern Hiſtory."

Senſible that the human mind delights in variety, the earl of Cheſterfield, inſtead of continuing his hiſtorical obſervations with the regularity of a ſchool-maſter, extends that Phyrroniſm to common opinions, which he had already exerciſed upon hiſtorical facts. After obſerving, that a courtier, without parts or knowledge, is the moſt contemptible of all beings, and a man of parts and knowledge, who acquires the manners of a court, the moſt perfect, he ſays, "It is a trite, common-place obſervation, that courts are the ſeats of falſehood and diſſimulation. That, like many, I might ſay moſt, common-place obſervations, is falſe. Falſehood and diſſimulation are certainly to be found at courts; but where are they not to be found? Cottages have them, as well as courts; only with worſe manners. A couple of neighbouring farmers, in a village, will contrive and practiſe as many tricks, to over-reach each other at the next market, or to ſupplant each other in the favour of the 'ſquire, as any two courtiers can do to ſupplant each other in the favour of their prince. Whatever poets may write, or fools believe, of rural innocence and truth, and of the perfidy

of courts, this is undoubtedly true—that ſhepherds and miniſters are both men; their nature and paſſions the ſame, the modes of them only different.

" Having mentioned common-place obſervations, I will particularly caution you againſt either uſing, believing, or approving them. They are the common topics of witlings and coxcombs; thoſe, who really have wit, have the utmoſt contempt for them, and ſcorn even to laugh at the pert things that thoſe would-be wits ſay upon ſuch ſubjects.

" Religion is one of their favourite topics; it is all prieſt-craft; and an invention contrived and carried on by prieſts, of all religions, for their own power and profit: from this abſurd and falſe principle flow the common-place, inſipid jokes and inſults upon the clergy. With theſe people, every prieſt, of every religion, is either a public or a concealed unbeliever, drunkard, and whoremaſter; whereas I conceive, that prieſts are extremely like other men, and neither the better nor the worſe for wearing a gown or a ſurplice; but, if they are different from other people, probably it is rather on the ſide of religion and morality, or at leaſt decency, from their education and manner of life.

" Ano-

" Another common topic for falſe wit, and cold raillery, is matrimony. Every man and his wife hate each other cordially, whatever they may pretend, in public, to the contrary. The huſband certainly wiſhes his wife at the devil, and the wife certainly cuckolds her huſband. Whereas, I preſume, that men and their wives neither love nor hate each other the more, upon account of the form of matrimony which has been ſaid over them. The cohabitation, indeed, which is the conſequence of matrimony, makes them either love or hate more, accordingly as they reſpectively deſerve it; but that would be exactly the ſame, between any man and woman, who lived together without being married.

" Theſe, and many other commonplace reflections upon nations, or profeſſions, in general (which are at leaſt as often falſe as true) are the poor refuge of people who have neither wit nor invention of their own, but endeavour to ſhine in company by ſecond-hand finery. I always put theſe pert jackanapes's out of countenance, by looking extremely grave, when they expect that I ſhould laugh at their pleaſantries; and by ſaying *well, and ſo*; as if they had not done, and that the ſting were ſtill to come. This diſconcerts

them; as they have no reſources in themſelves, and have but one ſet of jokes to live upon. Men of parts are not reduced to theſe ſhifts, and have the utmoſt contempt for them: they find proper ſubjects enough for either uſeful or lively converſations; they can be witty without ſatire or common-place, and ſerious without being dull.

"The frequentation of courts, checks this petulancy of manners; the good-breeding and circumſpection which are neceſſary, and only to be learned there, correct thoſe pertneſſes. In courts, a verſatility of genius, and a ſoftneſs of manners, are abſolutely neceſſary; which ſome people miſtake for abject flattery, and having no opinion of one's own: whereas it is only the decent and genteel manner of maintaining your own opinion, and poſſibly of bringing other people to it. The manner of doing things is often more important than the things themſelves; and the very ſame thing may become either pleaſing, or offenſive, by the manner of ſaying or doing it. *Materiam ſuperabat opus*, is often ſaid of works of ſculpture; where, though the materials were valuable, as ſilver, gold, &c. the workmanſhip was ſtill more ſo. This holds true, applied to manners; which

adorn

adorn whatever knowledge or parts people may have; and even make a greater impreſſion, upon nine in ten of mankind, than the intrinſic value of the materials. On the other hand, remember, that what Horace ſays of good writing is juſtly applicable to thoſe who would make a good figure in courts, and diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſhining parts of life; *ſapere eſt principium et fons.* A man, who, without a good fund of knowledge and parts, adopts a court life, makes the moſt ridiculous figure imaginable. He is a machine, little ſuperior to the court clock; and, as this points out the hours, he points out the frivolous employment of them. He is, at moſt, a comment upon the clock; and, according to the hours that it ſtrikes, tells you now it is levee, now dinner, now ſupper time, *&c.*

" The end which I propoſe by your education, and which *(if you pleaſe)* I ſhall certainly attain, is, to unite in you all the knowledge of a ſcholar, with the manners of a courtier: and to join, what is ſeldom joined in any of my countrymen, books and the world. They are commonly twenty years old before they have ſpoken to any body above their ſchoolmaſter, and the fellows of their college. If they happen to have learning, it is only Greek and Latin;

but not one word of modern hiſtory, or modern languages. Thus prepared, they go abroad, as they call it; but, in truth, they ſtay at home all that while; for, being very awkward, confoundedly aſhamed, and not ſpeaking the languages, they go into no foreign company, at leaſt none good; but dreſs and ſup with one another only, at the tavern. Such examples, I am ſure, you will not imitate, but even carefully avoid. You will always take care to keep the beſt company in the place, where you are, which is the only uſe of travelling: and (by the way) the pleaſures of a gentleman are only to be found in the beſt company; for that riot which low company, moſt falſely and impudently, call pleaſure, is only the ſenſuality of a ſwine."

In illuſtration of what his lordſhip here ſays, upon the abuſe of foreign travelling, I ſhall introduce a letter from a young gentleman at Rome to his father in England, well known to be written by the ſame maſterly hand.

" SIR,

" In the ſix weeks that I paſſed at Florence, and the week that I ſtayed at Genoa, I never had time to write to you, being wholly taken up with ſeeing things, of which the moſt remarkable is the ſteeple

of

of Piſa; it is the oddeſt thing I ever ſaw in my life; it ſtands all awry: I wonder it does not tumble down. I met with a great many of my countrymen, and we live together very ſociably. I have been here now a month; and will give you an account of my way of life. Here are a great many very agreeable Engliſh gentlemen; we are about nine or ten, as ſmart bucks as any in England. We conſtantly breakfaſt together; and then either go and ſee ſights, or drive about the outlets of Rome in chaiſes: but the horſes are very bad, and the chaiſes do not follow well. We meet before dinner at the Engliſh coffee-houſe; where there is a very good billiard table, and very good company. From thence we go and dine together, by turns, at each other's lodgings. Then, after a chearful glaſs of claret (for we have made a ſhift to get ſome here) we go to the coffee-houſe again; from thence to ſupper, and ſo to bed.—I do not believe that theſe Romans are a bit like the old Romans; they are a parcel of thin-gutted, ſnivelling, cringing dogs; and I verily believe that our ſet could thraſh forty of them. We never go among them; it would not be worth while; beſides, we none of us ſpeak Italian, and none of thoſe

ſeignors ſpeak Engliſh; which ſhows what ſort of fellows they are."

Nothing can be more happily imagined than this letter; and the following ſhort account of a home-bred Engliſh gentleman in the preſence of his ſovereign, which ſerves to introduce the character of a well-bred man, is not perhaps inferior, and is a proper addenda to what was ſaid of courts.

"How many men have I ſeen here," ſays his lordſhip, "who, after having had the full benefit of an Engliſh education, firſt at ſchool, and then at the univerſity; when they have been preſented to the King, did not know whether they ſtood upon their heads or their heels? If the king ſpoke to them, they were annihilated; they trembled, endeavoured to put their hands in their pockets and miſſed them, let their hats fall, and were aſhamed to take them up; and, in ſhort, put themſelves in every attitude but the right, that is, the eaſy and natural one.—The characteriſtic of a well-bred man is, to converſe with his inferiors without inſolence, and with his ſuperiors with reſpect, and with eaſe. He talks to kings, without concern; he trifles with women of the firſt condition, with familiarity, gaiety, but

but reſpect; and converſes with his equals, whether he is acquainted with them or not, upon general common topics, that are not, however, quite frivolous, without the leaſt concern of mind, or awkwardneſs of body: neither of which can appear to advantage, but when they are perfectly eaſy."

His lordſhip reſumes his hiſtorical obſervations thus:

" There are many great events in hiſtory, which, when once they are over, leave things in the ſituation in which they found them. As for inſtance, the late war, 1741; which, excepting the eſtabliſhment in Italy for Don Philip, leaves things pretty much *in ſtatu quo*; a mutual reſtitution of all acquiſitions being ſtipulated by the preliminaries of the peace. Such events undoubtedly deſerve your notice, but yet not ſo minutely as thoſe, which are not only important in themſelves, but equally (or it may be more) important by their conſequences too: of this latter ſort were, the progreſs of the chriſtian religion in Europe; the invaſion of the Goths; the diviſion of the Roman empire into weſtern and eaſtern; the eſtabliſhment and rapid progreſs of Mahometaniſm; and, laſtly, the reformation: all which events produced the greateſt

changes in the affairs of Europe, and to one or other of which, the preſent ſituation of all the parts of it is to be traced up.

" Next to theſe, are thoſe events which more immediately affect particular ſtates and kingdoms, and which are reckoned merely local, though their influence may, and indeed very often does, indirectly, extend itſelf further; ſuch as civil wars, and revolutions, from which a total change in the form of government frequently flows. The civil wars in England, in the reign of king Charles I. produced an intire change of the government here, from a limited monarchy to a commonwealth, at firſt, and afterwards to abſolute power, uſurped by Cromwell, under the pretence of protection, and the title of protector.

" The revolution, in 1688, inſtead of changing, preſerved our form of government; which king James II. intended to ſubvert, and eſtabliſh abſolute power in the crown.

" Theſe are the two great epochas in our Engliſh hiſtory, which I recommend to your particular attention.

" The league formed by the houſe of Guiſe, and fomented by the artifices of Spain, is a moſt material part of the hiſtory

hiſtory of France. The foundation of it was laid in the reign of Henry II. but the ſuperſtructure was carried on through the ſucceſſive reigns of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. till at laſt it was cruſhed, partly by the arms, but more by the apoſtacy, of Henry IV.

" In Germany, great events have been frequent, by which the Imperial dignity has always either gotten or loſt: and ſo far they have affected the conſtitution of the empire. The houſe of Auſtria kept that dignity to itſelf for near two hundred years, during which time it was always attempting to extend its power, by incroaching upon the rights and privileges of the other ſtates of the empire; till, at the end of the *bellum tricennale*, the treaty of Munſter, of which France is guarantee, fixed the reſpective claims.

" Italy has been conſtantly torn to pieces, from the time of the Goths, by the popes and the anti-popes, ſeverally ſupported by other great powers of Europe, more as their intereſt than as their religion led them. By the pretenſions alſo of France, and the houſe of Auſtria, upon Naples, Sicily, and the Milaneſe; not to mention the various leſſer cauſes of ſquabbles there, for the little ſtates, ſuch as Ferrara, Parma, Montferrat, *&c.*

" The

" The popes, till lately, have always taken a conſiderable part, and had great influence in the affairs of Europe: their excommunications bulls, and indulgences, ſtood inſtead of armies, in the times of ignorance and bigotry; but now, that mankind is better informed, the ſpiritual authority of the Pope is not only leſs regarded, but even deſpiſed, by the Catholic princes themſelves; and his Holineſs is actually little more than biſhop of Rome, with large temporalities; which he is not likely to keep longer than till the other greater powers in Italy ſhall find their conveniency in taking them from him. Among the modern popes, Leo the Xth, Alexander the VIth, and Sixtus Quintus, deſerve your particular notice. The firſt, among other things, for his own learning and taſte, and for his encouragement of the reviving arts and ſciences in Italy. Under his protection, the Greek and Latin Claſſics were moſt excellently tranſlated into Italian; painting flouriſhed and arrived at its perfection; and ſculpture came ſo near the ancients, that the works of his time, both in marble and bronze, are now called *Antico-Moderno*.

" Alexander the VIth, together with his natural ſon, Ceſar Borgia, was famous for his wickedneſs; in which he, and his

ſon

ſon too, ſurpaſſed all imagination. Their lives are well worth your reading. They were poiſoned, themſelves, by the poiſoned wine which they had prepared for others: the father died of it, but Ceſar recovered.

"Sixtus the Vth was the ſon of a ſwineherd; and raiſed himſelf to the popedom by his abilities: he was a great knave, but an able and a ſingular one."

He concludes his obſervations on general hiſtory with the following judicious reflection and advice.

"Many great readers load their memories, without exerciſing their judgments; and make lumber rooms of their heads, inſtead of furniſhing them uſefully: facts are heaped upon facts, without order or diſtinction, and may juſtly be ſaid to compoſe that

——Rudis indigeſtaque moles
Quem dixere chaos.

Take nothing for granted, upon the bare authority of the author; but weigh and conſider, in your own mind, the probability of the facts, and the juſtneſs of the reflections. Conſult different authors upon the ſame facts, and form your opinion upon the greater or leſſer degree of probability

bability ariſing from the whole; which, in my mind is the utmoſt ſtretch of hiſtorical faith: certainty (I fear) not being to be found. When an hiſtorian pretends to give you the cauſes and motives of events, compare thoſe cauſes and motives with the characters and intereſts of the parties concerned, and judge for yourſelf, whether they correſpond or not. Conſider whether you cannot aſſign others more probable; and in that examination, do not deſpiſe ſome very mean and trifling cauſes of the actions of great men: for ſo various and inconſiſtent is human nature, ſo ſtrong and ſo changeable are our paſſions, ſo fluctuating are our wills, and ſo much are our minds influenced by the accidents of our bodies, that every man is more the man of the day, than a regular and conſequential character."

From general hiſtory, his lordſhip paſſes to the hiſtory of the Religious and Military Orders.

"You will do well,"—ſays he,—"to have a general notion of all the religious and military orders of Europe, ancient and modern; both as they are frequently the ſubjects of converſation, and as they are more or leſs interwoven with the hiſtories of thoſe times. Witneſs the Teutonic Order, which, as ſoon as it gained ſtrength,

ſtrength, began its unjuſt depredations in Germany, and acquired ſuch conſiderable poſſeſſions there; and the Order of Maltha alſo, which continues to this day its piracies upon the Infidels. Beſides, one can go into no company in Germany, without running againſt *Monſieur le Chevailer*, or *Monſieur le Commandeur de l'Ordre Teutonique.* It is the ſame in all the other parts of Europe, with regard to the Order of Maltha; where you never go into company without meeting two or three *Chevaliers*, or *Commandeurs*, who talk of their *preuves*, their *langues*, their *caravanes*, *&c.* all which things I am ſure you would not willingly be ignorant of. On the other hand, I do not mean that you ſhould have a profound and minute knowledge of theſe matters, which are of a nature that a general knowledge of them is fully ſufficient. I would not recommend to you to read Abbé Vertot's Hiſtory of the Order of Maltha, in four quarto volumes; that would be employing a great deal of good time very ill. But I would have you know the foundations, the objects, the *Inſignia*, and the ſhort general hiſtory of them all.

" As for the ancient religious military Orders, which were chiefly founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; ſuch as

as Maltha, the Teutonic, the Knights Templars, &c. the injuſtice and the wickedneſs of thoſe eſtabliſhments cannot, I am ſure, have eſcaped your obſervation. Their pious object was, to take away, by force, other people's property; and to maſſacre the proprietors themſelves, if they refuſed to give up that property, and adopt the opinions of theſe invaders. What right or pretence had theſe confederated Chriſtians of Europe to the Holy Land? Let them produce their grant of it in the Bible? Will they ſay, that the Saracens had poſſeſſed themſelves of it by force; and that, conſequently, they had the ſame right. Is it lawful then to ſteal goods, becauſe they were ſtolen before? Surely not. The truth is, that the wickedneſs of many, and the weakneſs of more, in thoſe ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, concurred to form thoſe flagitious conſpiracies againſt the lives and properties of unoffending people. The Pope ſanctified the villany, and annexed the pardon of ſins to the perpetration of it. This gave riſe to the croiſadoes, and carried ſuch ſwarms of people from Europe to the conqueſts of the Holy Land. Peter the Hermit, an active and ambitious prieſt, by his indefatigable pains, was the immediate author of the firſt croiſade; kings,

kings, princes, all profeſſions and characters united, from different motives, in this great undertaking, as every ſentiment, except true religion and morality, invited to it. The ambitious hoped for kingdoms; the greedy and the neceſſitous for plunder; and ſome were enthuſiaſts enough to hope for ſalvation, by the deſtruction of a conſiderable number of their fellow-creatures, who had done them no injury. I cannot omit, upon this occaſion, telling you, that the Eaſtern emperors at Conſtantinople, (who, as Chriſtians, were obliged, at leaſt, to ſeem to favour theſe expeditions) ſeeing the immenſe numbers of the *Croiſez*, and fearing that the Weſtern Empire might have ſome mind to the Eaſtern Empire too, if it ſucceeded againſt the Infidels, as *l'appetit vient en mangeant*; theſe Eaſtern emperors, very honeſtly, poiſoned the waters where the *Croiſez* were to paſs, and ſo deſtroyed infinite numbers of them.

"The later orders of knighthood; ſuch as the Garter in England; the Elephant in Denmark; the Golden Fleece in Burgundy; the St. Eſprit, St. Michel, St. Louis, and St. Lazare, in France, &c. are of a very different nature and inſtitution. They were either the invitations to, or the rewards of, brave actions, in fair

fair war, and are now rather the decorations of the favour of the prince, than the proofs of the merit of the ſubject. However, they are worth your inquiries to a certain degree; and converſation will give you frequent opportunities for them. Wherever you are, I would adviſe you to inquire into the reſpective Orders of that country, and to write down a ſhort account of them. For example; while you are in Saxony, get an account of *l'Aigle Blanc*, and of what other Orders there may be, either Poliſh or Saxon; and, when you ſhall be at Berlin, inform yourſelf of the three Orders there, *l'Aigle Noir*, *la Généroſité*, *et le Vrai Mérite*, which are the only ones, that I know of, there. But whenever you meet with ſtraggling ribbands and ſtars, as you will with a thouſand in Germany, do not fail to inquire what they are, and to take a minute of them in your memorandum-book: for it is a ſort of knowledge that coſts little to acquire, and yet is of ſome uſe. Young people have frequently an incurioufneſs about them, ariſing either from lazineſs, or a contempt of the object, which deprives them of ſeveral ſuch little parts of knowledge, that they afterwards wiſh they had acquired. If you will put converſation to profit, great knowledge may be gained

gained by it; and is it not better (ſince it is full as eaſy) to turn it upon uſeful, than upon uſeleſs ſubjects? People always talk beſt upon what they know moſt, and it is both pleaſing them, and improving one's-ſelf, to put them upon that ſubject. With people of a particular profeſſion, or of a diſtinguiſhed eminency in any branch of learning, one is not at a loſs: but with thoſe, whether men or women, who properly conſtitute what is called the *beau monde*, one muſt not chuſe deep ſubjects, nor hope to get any knowledge above that of orders, ranks, families, and court-anecdotes; which are therefore the proper (and not altogether uſeleſs) ſubjects of that kind of converſation."

The tranſition was now eaſy to company and the world, ſubjects upon which his lordſhip always ſhines, and which he very juſtly conſiders as of more importance to a gentleman, than all other knowledge.

"Pleaſing in company," obſerves he, "is the only way of being pleaſed in it yourſelf. Senſe and knowledge are the firſt and neceſſary foundations for pleaſing in company; but they will by no means do alone, and they will never be perfectly welcome, if they are not accompanied with manners and attentions. You will beſt acquire theſe by frequenting the

companies of people of faſhion; but then you muſt reſolve to acquire them, in thoſe companies, by proper care and obſervation; for I have known people, who, though they have frequented good company all their life-time, have done it in ſo inattentive and unobſerving a manner, as to be never the better for it, and to remain as diſagreeable, as awkward, and as vulgar, as if they had never ſeen any perſon of faſhion. When you go into good company (by good company is meant the people of the firſt faſhion of the place) obſerve carefully their turn, their manners, their addreſs; and conform your own to them. But this is not all neither: go deeper ſtill; obſerve their characters, and pry, as far as you can, into both their hearts and their heads. Seek for their particular merit, their predominant paſſion, or their prevailing weakneſs; and you will then know what to bait your hook with, to catch them. Man is a compoſition of ſo many, and ſuch various ingredients, that it requires both time and care to analyſe him: for though we have, all, the ſame ingredients in our general compoſition, as reaſon, will, paſſions, and appetites; yet the different proportions and combinations of them, in each individual, produce that infinite variety

of

of characters, which, in ſome particular or other, diſtinguiſhes every individual from another. Reaſon ought to direct the whole, but ſeldom does: and he who addreſſes himſelf ſingly to another man's reaſon, without endeavouring to engage his heart in his intereſt alſo, is no more likely to ſucceed, than a man who ſhould apply only to a king's nominal miniſter, and neglect his favourite.

"I will recommend to your attentive peruſal, now that you are going into the world, two books, which will let you as much into the characters of men, as books can do. I mean, *Les Réflexions Morales de Monſieur de la Rochefoucault*, and *Les Caractéres de La Bruyere:* but remember, at the ſame time, that I only recommend them to you as the beſt general maps, to aſſiſt you in your journey, and not as marking out every particular turning and winding that you will meet with. There, your own ſagacity and obſervation muſt come to their aid. La Rochefoucault is, I know, blamed, but I think without reaſon, for deriving all our actions from the ſource of ſelf-love. For my own part, I ſee a great deal of truth, and no harm at all, in that opinion. It is certain, that we ſeek our own happineſs in every thing we do; and it is as certain, that

we can only find it in doing well, and in conforming all our actions to the rule of right reaſon, which is the great law of nature. It is only a miſtaken ſelf-love that is a blameable motive, when we take the immediate and indiſcriminate gratification of a paſſion, or appetite, for real happineſs. But am I blameable, if I do a good action, upon account of the happineſs which that honeſt conſciouſneſs will give me? Surely not. On the contrary, that pleaſing conſciouſneſs is a proof of my virtue. The reflection, which is the moſt cenſured in Monſieur de la Rochefoucault's book, as a very ill-natured one, is this; *On trouve dans le malheur de ſon meilleur ami, quelque choſe qui ne deplait pas.* And why not? Why may I not feel a very tender and real concern for the miſfortune of my friend, and yet at the ſame time feel a pleaſing conſciouſneſs at having diſcharged my duty to him, by comforting and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of my power in that misfortune?

This is not a proper ſolution of Rochefoucault's maxim; which plainly intimates, that we find ſomething which ſecretly pleaſes us, *qui ne deplait pas, dans le malheur de ſon meileur ami*, in contemplating the *misfortune* of our *beſt friend*, not in reflecting, as his lordſhip ſuppoſes, on our *own friendly conduct*

conduct towards him while in diſtreſs. If we have ſuch a feeling, as I hope we have not, it muſt therefore ariſe from a very ungenerous ſource.

" The characters of La Bruyere," adds he, " are pictures from the life; moſt of them finely drawn, and highly coloured. Furniſh your mind with them firſt; and when you meet with their likeneſs, as you will every day, they will ſtrike you the more. You will compare every feature with the original; and both will reciprocally help you to diſcover the beauties and the blemiſhes."

The following obſervations on women are entirely conſiſtent with what his lordſhip has already ſaid of the ſex, only more particular; and, though there is certainly a good deal of truth in them, I cannot help thinking them by much too ſevere: for there are many women poſſeſſed of real good-ſenſe, and ſome who are as conſiſtent in their conduct as the moſt ſolid of our ſex can pretend to be.

" As women are a conſiderable, or at leaſt a pretty numerous part of company; and as their ſuffrages go a great way towards eſtabliſhing a man's character, in the faſhionable part of the world, (which is of great importance to the fortune and figure he propoſes to make in it) it is neceſſary to pleaſe them. I will therefore,

upon this ſubject, let you into certain *arcanas*, that will be very uſeful for you to know, but which you muſt, with the utmoſt care, conceal; and never ſeem to know. Women, then, are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and ſometimes wit; but for ſolid reaſoning, good ſenſe, I never in my life knew one that had it, or who reaſoned or acted conſequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. Some little paſſion or humour always breaks in upon their beſt reſolutions. Their beauty neglected, or controvered, their age increaſed, or their ſuppoſed underſtandings depreciated, inſtantly kindles their little paſſions, and overturns any ſyſtem of conſequential conduct, that, in their moſt reaſonable moments, they might have been capable of forming. A man of ſenſe only trifles with them, plays with them, humours and flatters them, as he does with a ſprightly, forward child; but he neither conſults them about, nor truſts them with, ſerious matters; though he often makes them believe that he does both; which is the thing in the world they are proud of; for they love mightily to be dabbling in buſineſs (which, by the way, they always ſpoil;) and being juſtly diſtruſtful, that men in general look upon them in a trifling light, they almoſt adore

that man, who talks more ſeriouſly to them, and who ſeems to conſult and truſt them: I ſay, who ſeems; for weak men really do, but wiſe ones only ſeem to do it. No flattery is either too high or too low for them. They will greedily ſwallow the higheſt, and gratefully accept of the loweſt; and you may ſafely flatter any woman, from her underſtanding, down to the exquiſite taſte of her fan. Women, who are either indiſputably beautiful, or indiſputably ugly, are beſt flattered upon the ſcore of their underſtandings: but thoſe who are in a ſtate of mediocrity, are beſt flattered upon their beauty, or at leaſt their graces; for every woman, who is not abſolutely ugly, thinks herſelf handſome; but not hearing often that ſhe is ſo, is the more grateful, and the more obliged to the few who tell her ſo: whereas a decided and conſcious beauty looks upon every tribute, paid to her beauty, only as her due; but wants to ſhine, and to be conſidered on the ſide of her underſtanding: and a woman, who is ugly enough to know that ſhe is ſo, knows that ſhe has nothing left for it but her underſtanding, which is, conſequently (and probably in more ſenſes than one) her weak ſide. But theſe are ſecrets, which you muſt keep

inviolably, if you would not, like Orpheus, be torn to pieces by the whole ſex: on the contrary, a man, who thinks of living in the great world, muſt be gallant, polite, and attentive to pleaſe the women. They have, from the weakneſs of men, more or leſs influence in all courts: they abſolutely ſtamp every man's character in the *beau monde*, and make it either current, or cry it down, and ſtop it in payments. It is, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary to manage, pleaſe, and flatter them; and never to diſcover the leaſt marks of contempt, which is what they never forgive: but in this they are not ſingular, for it is the ſame with men; who will much ſooner forgive an injuſtice than an inſult. Every man is not ambitious, or covetous, or paſſionate; but every man has pride enough in his compoſition to feel and reſent the leaſt ſlight and contempt. Remember, therefore, moſt carefully to conceal your contempt, however juſt, wherever you would not make an implacable enemy. Men are much more unwilling to have their weakneſſes and their imperfections known, than their crimes; and, if you hint to a man, that you think him ſilly, ignorant, or even ill-bred, or awkward, he will hate you more, and longer, than if you tell him, plainly, that you think him a rogue.

"Never yield to that temptation, which, to moſt young men, is very ſtrong, of expoſing other people's weakneſſes and infirmities, for the ſake either of diverting the company, or of ſhowing your own ſuperiority. You may get the laugh on your ſide by it, for the preſent; but you will make enemies by it for ever; and even thoſe who laugh with you then, will, upon reflection, fear, and conſequently hate you: beſides that, it is ill-natured; and that a good heart deſires rather to conceal, than expoſe, other people's weakneſſes or misfortunes. If you have wit, uſe it to pleaſe, and not to hurt: you may ſhine, like the ſun in the temperate zones, without ſcorching. Here it is wiſhed for; under the line it is dreaded."

Theſe reflections upon men and manners, lead his lordſhip into a more particular conſideration of company, and the manner of behaving in it.

"To keep good company," — continues he,—"eſpecially at your firſt ſetting out, is the way to receive good impreſſions. If you aſk me what I mean by good company, I will confeſs to you, that it is pretty difficult to define; but I will endeavour to make you underſtand it as well as I can.

"Good company, is not what reſpective ſets of company are pleaſed either to call or think themſelves; but it is that company which all the people of the place call, and acknowledge to be, good company, notwithſtanding ſome objections which they may form to ſome of the individuals who compoſe it. It conſiſts chiefly (but by no means without exception) of people of conſiderable birth, rank, and character: for people of neither birth nor rank, are frequently, and very juſtly, admitted into it, if diſtinguiſhed by any peculiar merit, or eminency in any liberal art or ſcience. In this faſhionable good company, the beſt manners, and the beſt language, of the place are moſt unqueſtionably to be learnt: for they eſtabliſh, and give the tone to both; which are therefore called the language and manners of good company, there being no legal tribunal to aſcertain either."

He proſecutes his ſubject thus, with great diſcernment and accuracy.

"Having pointed out what ſort of company you ſhould keep, I will now give you ſome rules for your conduct in it; rules which my own experience and obſervation enable me to lay down, and communicate to you, with ſome degree of confidence.

"Talk

" Talk often, but never long; in that caſe, if you do not pleaſe, at leaſt you are ſure not to tire your hearers. Pay your own reckoning, but do not treat the whole company; this being one of the very few caſes in which people do not care to be treated, every one being fully convinced that he has wherewithal to pay.

" Tell ſtories very ſeldom, and, abſolutely, never but where they are very apt, and very ſhort. Omit every circumſtance that is not material, and beware of digreſſions. To have frequent recourſe to narrative, betrays great want of imagination.

" Never hold any body by the button, or the hand, in order to be heared out; for, if people are not willing to hear you, you had much better hold your tongue than them.

" Moſt long talkers ſingle out ſome one unfortunate man in company (commonly him whom they obſerve to be the moſt ſilent) or their next neighbour, to whiſper, or at leaſt, in a half voice, to convey a continuity of words to. This is exceſſively ill-bred, and, in ſome degree, a fraud; converſation-ſtock being a joint and common property. But, on the other hand, if one of theſe unmerciful talkers lays

hold of you, hear him with patience, (and at leaſt ſeeming attention) if he is worth obliging; for nothing will oblige him more than a patient hearing, as nothing would hurt him more, than either to leave him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, or to diſcover your impatience under your affliction.

"Take, rather than give, the tone of the company you are in. If you have parts you will ſhow them, more or leſs, upon every ſubject; and if you have not, you had better talk fillily upon a ſubject of other people's, than of your own chuſing.

"Avoid, as much as you can, in mixed companies, argumentative, polemical converſations; which, though they ſhould not, yet certainly do, indiſpoſe, for a time, the contending parties towards each other: and, if the controverſy grows warm and noiſy, endeavour to put an end to it, by ſome genteel levity or joke. I quieted ſuch a converſation-hubbub once, by repreſenting to them, that, though I was perſuaded none there preſent would repeat, out of company, what paſſed in it, yet I could not anſwer for the diſcretion of the paſſengers in the ſtreet, who muſt neceſſarily hear all that was ſaid.

"Above

" Above all things, and upon all occaſions, avoid ſpeaking of yourſelf, if it be poſſible. Such is the natural pride and vanity of our hearts, that it perpetually breaks out, even in people of the beſt parts, in all the various modes and figures of the egotiſm.

" Take care never to ſeem dark and myſterious; which is not only a very unamiable character, but a very ſuſpicious one too: if you ſeem myſterious with others, they will be really ſo with you, and you will know nothing. The height of abilities is, to have *volto ſciolto*, and *penſieri ſtretti*; that is, a frank, open, and ingenuous exterior, with a prudent and reſerved interior: to be upon your own guard, and yet, by a ſeeming natural openneſs, to put people off of theirs. Depend upon it, nine in ten of every company that you are in, will avail themſelves of every indiſcreet and unguarded expreſſion of yours, if they can turn it to their own advantage. A prudent reſerve is therefore as neceſſary, as a ſeeming openneſs is prudent. Always look people in the face when you ſpeak to them; the not doing it is thought to imply conſcious guilt; beſides, that you loſe the advantage of obſerving, by their countenances, what impreſſion your diſcourſe

courſe makes upon them. In order to know people's real ſentiments, I truſt much more to my eyes than to my ears; for they can ſay whatever they have a mind I ſhould hear; but they can ſeldom help looking, what they have no intention that I ſhould know.

" Mimickry, which is the common and favourite amuſement of little, low minds, is in the utmoſt contempt with great ones. It is the loweſt and moſt illiberal of all buffoonery. Pray, neither practiſe it yourſelf, nor applaud it in others. Beſides that, the perſon mimicked is inſulted; and, as I have often obſerved to you before, an inſult is never forgiven.

" I need not (I believe) adviſe you to adapt your converſation to the people you are converſing with: for I ſuppoſe you would not, without this caution, have talked upon the ſame ſubject, and in the ſame manner, to a miniſter of ſtate, a biſhop, a philoſopher, a captain, and a woman. A man of the world muſt, like the cameleon, be able to take every different hue; which is by no means a criminal or abject, but a neceſſary complaiſance, for it relates only to manners, and not to morals."

To theſe reflections on company and converſation, his lordſhip adds an allegory, and an example, with which I ſhall conclude this chapter, and the ſecond part of the Syſtem of Education.

" Whatever I ſee, or whatever I hear," ſays he, " my firſt conſideration is, whether it can, in any way, be uſeful to you. As a proof of this, I went accidentally, the other day, into a print-ſhop; where, among many others, I found one print from a famous deſign of Carlo Maratti, who died about thirty years ago, and was the laſt eminent painter in Europe: the ſubject is, *il Studio del Diſegno*; or, the School of Drawing. An old man, ſuppoſed to be the maſter, points to his ſcholars, who are variouſly employed in perſpective, geometry, and the obſervation of the ſtatues of antiquity. With regard to perſpective, of which there are ſome little ſpecimens; he has wrote, *Tanto che baſti*, that is, *As much as is ſufficient*; with regard to geometry, *Tanto che baſti* again; with regard to the contemplation of the ancient ſtatues, there is written, *Non mai a baſtanza*; *There never can be enough.* But, in the clouds, at top of the piece, are repreſented the three Graces; with this juſt ſentence written over them, *Senza di noi ogni fatica è vana*; that is, *Without*

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us, all labour is vain. This, every body allows to be true, in painting; but all people do not ſeem to conſider, as I hope you will, that this truth is full as applicable to every other art or ſcience; indeed to every thing that is to be ſaid or done. I will ſend you the print itſelf; and I will adviſe you to make the ſame uſe of it, that the Roman Catholics ſay they do of the pictures and images of their ſaints; which is, only to remind them of thoſe: for the adoration they diſclaim. Nay, I will go farther, and, as the tranſition from popery to paganiſm is ſhort and eaſy, I will claſſically and poetically adviſe you to invoke, and ſacrifice to them every day, and all the day.

" It muſt be owned, that the Graces do not ſeem to be natives of Great Britain; and, I doubt, the beſt of us, here, have more of the rough than the poliſhed diamond. Since barbariſm drove them out of Greece and Rome, they ſeem to have taken refuge in France, where their temples are numerous, and their worſhip the eſtabliſhed one. Examine yourſelf ſeriouſly, why ſuch and ſuch people pleaſe and engage you, more than ſuch and ſuch others, of equal merit; and you will always find, that it is becauſe the former have the graces, and the latter not.

not. I have known many a woman, with an exact ſhape, and a ſymmetrical aſſemblage of beautiful features, pleaſe nobody; while others, with very moderate ſhapes and features, have charmed every body. Why? Becauſe Venus will not charm ſo much, without her attendant graces, as they will without her. Among men, how often have I ſeen the moſt ſolid merit and knowledge neglected, unwelcome, or even rejected, for want of them? While flimſy parts, little knowledge, and leſs merit, introduced by the graces, have been received, cheriſhed, and admired. Even virtue, which is moral beauty, wants ſome of its charms, if unaccompanied by them.

" Of all the men that ever I knew in my life, (and I knew him extremely well) the late duke of Marlborough poſſeſſed the graces in the higheſt degree, not to ſay engroſſed them; and indeed he got the moſt by them; for I will venture (contrary to the cuſtom of profound hiſtorians, who always aſſign deep cauſes for great events) to aſcribe the better half of the duke of Marlborough's greatneſs and riches to thoſe graces. He was eminently illiterate; wrote bad Engliſh, and ſpelled it ſtill worſe. He had no ſhare of what is commonly called *parts*; that is, he

he had no brightneſs, nothing ſhining in his genius. He had, moſt undoubtedly, an excellent good plain underſtanding, with ſound judgment. But theſe, alone, would probably have raiſed him but ſomething higher than they found him; which was page to king James the Second's queen. There the graces protected and promoted him; for, while he was an enſign of the guards, the dutcheſs of Cleveland, then favourite miſtreſs to king Charles the IId, ſtruck by thoſe very graces, gave him five thouſand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather, Halifax; which was the foundation of his ſubſequent fortune. His figure was beautiful; but his manner was irreſiſtible, by either man or woman. It was by this engaging, graceful manner, that he was enabled, during all his war, to connect the various and jarring powers of the grand alliance, and to carry them on to the main object of the war, notwithſtanding their private and ſeparate views, jealouſies, and wrong-headedneſſes. Whatever court he went to, (and he was often obliged to go himſelf to ſome reſty and refractory ones) he as conſtantly prevailed, and brought them into his meaſures. The Penſionary Hein-

ſius, a venerable old miniſter, grown grey in buſineſs, and who had governed the Republic of the United Provinces for more than forty years, was abſolutely governed by the duke of Marlborough, as that Republic feels to this day. He was always cool; and nobody ever obſerved the leaſt variation in his countenance: he could refuſe more gracefully than other people could grant; and thoſe who went away from him the moſt diſſatisfied, as to the ſubſtance of their buſineſs, were yet perſonally charmed with him, and, in ſome degree, comforted by his manner. With all his gentleneſs and gracefulneſs, no man living was more conſcious of his ſituation, nor maintained his dignity better.

" With the ſhare of knowledge which you have already gotten, and with the much greater, which, I hope, you will ſoon acquire, what may you not expect to arrive at, if you join all theſe graces to it? In your deſtination particularly [that of a foreign miniſter] they are, in truth, half your buſineſs; for, if you can once gain the affections, as well as the eſteem of the prince or miniſter of the court to which you are ſent, I will anſwer for it, that will effectually do the buſineſs of the court that ſent you; otherwiſe,

wiſe, it is up-hill work.—Do not miſtake, and think, that theſe graces, which I ſo often and ſo earneſtly recommend to you, ſhould only accompany important tranſactions, and be worn only *les jours de gala:* no; they ſhould, if poſſible, accompany every, the leaſt, thing that you do or ſay; for, if you neglect them in little things, they will leave you in great ones. I ſhould, for inſtance, be extremely concerned to ſee you even drink a cup of coffee ungracefully, and ſlop yourſelf with it, by your awkward manner of holding it; nor ſhould I like to ſee your coat buttoned, or your ſhoes buckled awry. But I ſhould be outrageous, if I heard you mutter your words unintelligibly, ſtammer in your ſpeech, or heſitate, miſplace, and miſtake in your narrations: and I ſhould run away from you, with greater rapidity, if poſſible, than I ſhould, now, run to embrace you, if I found you deſtitute of all thoſe graces, which I have ſet my heart upon their making you one day, *omnibus ornatum excellere rebus.*"

END of VOL. I.

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